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8 August 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1575

EAST

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### FOREIGN DELEGATES SPEAK AT PRIZREN CONFERENCE IN ALBANIA

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 16 Jun 78 p 1

[Speeches of foreign delegates to the National Conference on Studies about the Albanian League of Prizren, delivered in Tirana on 15 June 1978]

[Excerpts] At this session, greetings were presented by various scholars. The first speaker was Academician Ali Hadri (Pristina) who said, among other things: This national scientific conference has a very important place in the history of Albanian studies because it signifies a great qualitative step forward in the direction of the complex enrichment, analysis, and evaluation of the history of the Albanian people during the period of the League of Prizren, a period which lived in and strongly influenced all the later trends in the history of the Albanian people, because all the events of the national, Albanian movement were colored by this period. At the present time, Albanian studies are developing more and more, first of all, thanks to the untiring work of Albanian scientific workers, and also, with the assistance of scholars who are not of Albanian nationality but who are interested in Albanian studies.

Then Professor Nikollai Todorov (Sofia) spoke: The Albanian Academy of Sciences has registered such successes during its brief existence that it has attracted the attention of world scientific opinion. At present, the history of the Balkans cannot be written without using monographs and documentary material published in Tirana or without cooperation with Albanian scholars. This very important scientific session, at which a complex and profound analysis has been made of a period which was very short, but which was of extraordinary importance for the Albanian people, with some general papers and with a multitude of scientific reports, clearly shows the maturity of Albanian scientific thought.

Professor Mihai Berza (Bucharest) said: This was a happy occasion for me. Not only because I was interested in the broad reports and the rich selection of reports which shed light on some basic events of the history of the Albanian people, and of southeastern Europe, in general, but also because it gave me the opportunity to see beautiful Albania once again.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HOFFMANN ADDRESS TO TRADE UNION PLENUM

Prague PRACE in Czech 6 Jun 78 pp 2-5

[Report by K. Hoffmann: "Objectives of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement After the 11th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee--Report of the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions presented by Comrade K. Hoffmann"]

[Text] One year has passed since the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions at which we expressed our firm determination to dedicate all the forces of trade unions to the fulfillment of the objectives of the 15th CPCZ Congress, for a happy life of our working people. Trade union organs and organizations and the whole Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] approached the implementation of the program of the 15th Congress aware of the fact that its fulfillment will bring our working people further improvements of their material and cultural living standards and develop political, economic and social achievements characteristic for the building of a developed socialist society.

The results already achieved in the implementation of the party program, assessed collectively by the 11th plenum of the Central Committee, confirmed the justification of the decision by trade unionists to implement the party's political line consistently in every basic function performed by trade unions and in the work of each individual organization.

The dynamic development of our national economy continued during the first 2 years of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The growth of the social product and national revenue made it possible to satisfy material and spiritual needs and strengthen the life and social security of the Czechoslovak people. Although we worked under considerably more challenging internal conditions and especially under conspicuously aggravated external economic conditions, the balance of the party's economic policy is positive. Thus, the recent years are honorably linked with the ascending development of our society during this decade which is one of the most successful periods in the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia. Our people's enthusiastic and dedicated work has demonstrated that our society has what it takes to

to achieve the objectives set by the 15th CPCZ Congress and that this challenging program agrees with our potential and with the vital interests of the Czechoslovak working people.

#### For a More Determined Implementation of the Party Program

In harmony with the action of the CPCZ Central Committee we can state at this meeting also that the program of the 15th Congress has become the basis for the development of the trade union's societywide responsibility, for their comprehensive action in every area of our social life and for their intensified influence on the masses of our working people. The ROH thus acquired a new stimulus for a more distinctive involvement in successful achievements of our national economy, in the care for social and cultural needs of our working people and in the expansion of their socialist consciousness. The activity of trade unions in plants and other places of work is again aimed at the people's increased involvement in management and administration as an indivisible part of socialist democracy. This orientation has already become explicitly evident in action plans of our basic organizations for 1978. Their implementation will contribute to the full participation of trade unions in the overall economic and social development of our country.

Naturally, we are aware of the fact that the progress which is demonstrably evident in every area of the life of our society is not progressing smoothly and that in many respects we have failed to achieve all our aspirations and our full potential. The plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in March had every right to pinpoint openly and critically shortcomings and problems and numerous unutilized reserves concealed in the organization and management of production, in the development of sciences and technology, in the performance standards of the state and economic organs and social organization, in the conscious involved approach to societywide tasks, and particularly in the working people's creative energies. The exploitation of the considerable reserves will make it possible to advance even more distinctly in full harmony with the decisions of the 15th Congress.

The conclusions of the party's central committee provide a relevant stimulus also for the ROH for an even more resolute approach to the implementation of the party program adopted at the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions. It is our duty to do so because of the trust of the broad masses which are aware that these conclusions stem from the innermost interests of the working class and other working people. Therefore, we are dutybound to meet their expectations that deeds will follow the meeting of the party's central committee and that basic organizations and the whole trade union movement as the largest organization which can substantially contribute to the building of a developed socialist society will further expand their activity. We are obligated also by revolutionary traditions and experience of which we are reminded particularly in this year of 1978.



I.

Constant dynamic development of our national economy is the basis for the achievement of the outlined goals and thus, also the key to a successful implementation of the party policy aimed at a continuous improvement of our working people's life and at increasingly more evident guarantees of socialist life in our country. Therefore, all of us, no matter where we work, must realize all implications of the fact that this development may be reliably guaranteed only if efficiency of production and quality of every work are raised, if the intensive factors of economic growth are comprehensively utilized, and if the basic policy of the 15th CPCZ Congress is introduced into life. A more demanding approach involves a whole system of tasks which must be fulfilled over an extended period and on a daily basis in every area of our national economy.

At the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions, being aware of the truly revolutionary impact of this direction for our activity, we described the tenacious effort for high efficiency of production and quality of all work as a battle strategy of the ROH.

An analysis of achievements, problems and causes of the shortcomings appearing in our economy from the viewpoint of the application of the basic strategic line of the 15th CPCZ Congress has indicated that particularly outstanding among the key tasks are some in the implementation of which the ROH may and must be actively involved. This concerns in particular fuel and energy supply, lower material, raw material and power consumption, rational exploitation of our domestic resources, higher technical standards and quality of products so as to increase their export potential and to satisfy the consumers' demands, more effective outlay of funds for investment construction, and a more advantageous introduction of economy in the process of socialist integration. This involves accelerated scientific-technical development affecting every area and helping transform not only the nature of human work but also the people's material and spiritual way of life. This involves an intensified responsible approach to the creation and implementation of a state plan of national economy from the workshops up to the ministries. It is essential to involve our working people in the fulfillment of these key tasks on a daily basis.

This means simply that in our future work we must affirm even more convincingly the justification of the Central Committee's position that "the trade unions are aware of the fact that they can successfully provide care for man only if production is developed, discipline in production and technology intensified, and labor performance stepped up."

The role of trade unions in the economic sphere has many forms because they are participating in the solution of most of the questions which determine its steady growth. However, since efficiency and high quality

are coming conspicuously to the fore as factors determining the intensive development of our national economy, the key role--in terms of trade union participation--is played by massive and qualitatively superior development of initiative and socialist competition and by conferences on production as a broad basis for the working people's participation in management and economy and for the application of their creative forces in the process of production.

#### Mass Character of Socialist Competition

Socialist competition was broadly developed for the 15th CPCZ Congress, for the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions, for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and for the 30th anniversary of the Victorious February, as an expression of our working people's determination to fulfill the challenging tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Trade union organizations contributed substantial achievements giving socialist competition a truly mass character. More than 87 percent of our working people are now participating in it. The number of participants in the competition which expresses their socialist attitude to work in the brigades of socialist labor movement has already approached nearly 2.5 million. It is gratifying that socialist pledges are already aimed more at the objectives of higher efficiency and quality of all work. Increasingly more collectives are coping with them creatively.

We appreciate the fact that collectives of socialist labor teams led by heroes of labor appear in the forefront of this effort. L. Sakmar's collective of mineworkers managed to top previous record achievements repeatedly and over an extended period and by their shockworker concept of labor activity organization they were able to surpass very challenging tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan in coal mining. Comrade Kral's collective of Sigma in Hranice set an example of full utilization of modern highly efficient machinery and equipment and has already found many followers. By its collective operation of the machines and by a new work organization, the brigade led by Comrade Hedvika Peskova from the Mostek plant of the TIBA national enterprise improved the utilization of machinery, saved manpower and increased labor performance. Likewise, we may mention Comrade Cmarek's youth brigade in the mine in Handlova, the brigade in agriculture led by Comrade Hruskova, and so forth.

Good achievements have been accomplished particularly by those collectives in which experience in production and the workers' skill are supported and multiplied by the expertise and involvement of the technicians, economists and organizers of production.

The competition is spreading in the ranks of technicians in preproduction sectors and operations in the form of personal creative plans. Various types of initiative by working people have begun developing and bringing their first positive results in scientific research institutes, planning

organizations, institutes of higher learning and in various sectors of the nonproduction area. Heroes of socialist labor serve here as actual models, such as, Comrade Josef Suchy, the chief constructor of agricultural machines from the Agrostroj national enterprise in Jicin, and Comrade Josef Susen, a designer and planner of modern constructions for electric equipment and propulsion from the Research and Development Institute of Rotary Electric Machinery in Brno.

The development of the improvement and invention movement and comprehensive rationalization teams are playing an increasingly more meaningful role in the current upsurge of initiative. Thousands of collectives in various sectors are pursuing the effort to save raw materials, materials, fuel and power in the framework of the Trade Unionists' Billion program.

We appreciate the initiative of working people in every sector and in every kraj, we respect their specific socialist pledges and all their contributions to the fulfillment and overachievement of the tasks of the plan. We wish to emphasize in particular the systematic work performed with active participation of trade union organs in the North Moravia kraj to develop initiative and especially to popularize and support those who are charting the way for others.

Each day brings new proof that our working people are aware of the importance of the party appeal to fulfill the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan consistently; they have displayed dedication and heroism in overcoming the obstacles appearing in their way. Nevertheless, there are still plants and enterprises where the effort exerted failed to produce the expected results. The working people have announced their pledges, fulfilled and surpassed them, and yet all that has not been correspondingly reflected in the fulfillment of the plan or in the quality of products; the consumption of material and power has increased and efficiency of work remains inferior.

We stressed as early as at the 11th plenum of the Central Council of Trade Unions that we could not feel satisfied at all with the actual utilization of the potential in the inexhaustible initiative of our working people. We pointed out to union officials that particularly they should be challenged to action by the fact that the plan had not been fulfilled by some of the enterprises and by others only due to special measures, a high overtime rate, unevenly and at high costs.

It is imperative to disclose the causes why, on the one hand, productive working initiative has increased and, on the other hand, planned tasks have not been fulfilled over a long period, over several years, as, for example, in the Machine Tool Factories in Hulin, Cement Factories in Cizkovice, Tatramat in Poprad, Kovosmalt in Filakovo, East Bohemia Brick Factories in Hrochuv Tynes and other plants and enterprises.

A similar situation is also evident in those instances where plants and enterprises have fulfilled their plan but delivered products of inferior quality. The only difference is that the number of such collectives is higher and that this problem is becoming increasingly more urgent, as the party's Central Committee has already pointed out.

We have every right to ask why such a situation has lasted over such a long time, what is the contribution of the trade union organization and how are the supervisory economic organs and trade union organs aiding those plants.

#### The Development of Initiative as a Factor in Management

When developing initiative we are meeting with problems particularly because we often approach such a important task in a mechanical and formal way. A critical analysis of the ongoing shortcomings associated with the boisterous spurt of competition and pledges must prompt the trade unions and our basic organizations to take decisive and effective measures.

What deserves special consideration, which principles must be respected? We may overcome the existing shortcomings only if every trade union organization demands that the appropriate economic workers focus the initiative so as to raise the productivity of the plan, to solve problems of a given place of work, to improve the efficiency of production and quality of products, to save and better utilize power, raw materials and supplies.

We may avoid formalism if having made a pledge, we pay attention to, and help individual competitors and collectives, control the fulfillment of pledges, and make final appraisals of their completion which will make possible a systematic moral evaluation of the best participants in the competition according to their actual merits.

The competition will not become formalistic but will contribute to the fulfillment of the qualitative tasks of the plan if the pledges of the whole plant are discussed and approved by the working people and if they are not based on pledges made by individual shops and operations and particularly on personal pledges by individual workers.

We shall prevent the competitors' effort from depreciating and weakening if right from the beginning we insist that the responsible workers create conditions for the fulfillment of the pledges, for a genuine competition among individuals and collectives within a plant and between plants and enterprises, for expanded activities of comprehensive rationalization teams, for the introduction of progressive methods of operation, for the solution of topical tasks and for a prompt application of suggestions for improvement and inventions.

Trade union organs are jointly responsible for stopping the gamble with the initiative of the working people who are striving with vigor and dedication for better achievements in their places of work. We cannot tolerate any deformation of the competition by shortcomings in management, in labor organization and in supplier-consumer relations, or any degradation of an honest effort of one collective by unfulfilled tasks at another place of work, and fulfillment of tasks at the price of spasmodic output records, disproportionate overtime frequency, emergency shifts, and so forth.

To direct socialist competition to the key tasks of the plan, to increased efficiency and quality of work, to all-around economy--that presupposes substantial improvements in management and organizational performance by all those who are responsible for the development of competition. Although we have already underlined this fact many times, in terms of the growing demands we want to reemphasize the correlation of a properly managed socialist enterprise--which is inseparably linked with the creation of opportunities and competition--with a specific focus on the tasks of the place of work and with properly appreciated achievements of individuals as well as collectives. The demands imposed on a leading socialist worker can be met only by that economic worker who is concerned also in this aspect of management and organization of the production and who considers work initiative as the most efficient method for the fulfillment of the plan.

The same applies to trade union officials. They cannot just idly discuss economic problems, initiative and competition; most of all they must provide opportunities for its development by means of the necessary organizational and educational work. Only thus will they accomplish their task and enforce adequately the interests of their collective as well as of our whole society.

It is the task of the trade union organs in the enterprise, plan and in every place of work to demand emphatically from the leaders of the economy that the competing individuals and collectives, improvers and inventors be informed at the proper time about what has to be done, how, until when and under which conditions, and on the solution of which tasks to focus their effort, and to show the working people constantly the direct correlation of a better life with the results of their work, the inseparable interests of the producer and the consumer, so as to narrow the space where behind the effort of the collectives are lurking those people who failed to fulfill their tasks and observe labor and technological discipline, who are producing rejects, wasting social funds, etc.

We expect from the central committees of trade union federations that in cooperation with the ministries and managements of economic production units they will essentially expand their assistance in arranging and fulfilling socialist pledges, particularly in large industrial plants, so that such pledges pay more attention to the reserves, focus on increasing the efficiency of production and other indicators of quality,

make possible a comprehensive fulfillment of this key objective as well as produce a marked output of needed products and spare parts. We shall support pledges made jointly by cooperating plants which will ensure an accurate fulfillment of their contractual obligations and thus, meet promptly and well the subdeliveries for the final processing of products.

The development of competition depends to a considerable degree also on the method according to which the promotion and propagation of progressive experience are organized. Central committees of trade union federations are responsible for the preparation of plans for the application of progressive, especially Soviet experience and methods of innovation in sectors and enterprises. Such a procedure is sure to help increase the number of collectives achieving high productivity of labor, reducing the costs of production and delivering products of top quality. It is imperative to specify properly the responsibility of the leading workers and trade union organs for this task and the method of controlling its fulfillment.

#### Everyone a Manager in His Place of Work

It is necessary to create on every level of management opportunities for broader participation of workers, the scientific-technical intelligentsia, competing collectives, brigades of socialist labor and KRB [expansion unknown] for accelerated scientific-technological progress and for the creation and implementation of new technological solutions, and particularly, to insist that approved inventions and improvement suggestions be applied in production more rapidly.

If we find that half of the proposed improvement suggestions have been rejected in some plants mainly because they do not correspond to the needs of production or because they have solved problems that had been already solved somewhere else, that is no fault of the improvers only. Among other things, it proves that the improvers need, on the one hand, more professional technical assistance to turn their creative efforts in the right direction and, on the other, moral support from the trade union organizations.

Cooperation of the plant committees with the sectors of the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technological Society, improved operations of commissions for the movement of inventors and improvers, invigorated by experienced practitioners and theoreticians, application of advantageous experience of leading enterprises, such as the Klement Gottwald Iron Works in Vitkovice, ZDA in Partizanske, V. I. Lenin Works in Plzen, Machine Building Factories of the Vah River Area, and respect for the needs and differentiation of conditions in individual sectors--these also are ways leading to essentially more productive results of the activity of innovators, improvers and inventors.

It is necessary to organize on a broader scale the already tested method of individual creative plans of scientific-technological workers and to assist research institutes in making joint socialist pledges with manufacturing plants in order to speed up the introduction of scientific knowledge in production.

The principal method for the development of socialist competition and initiative was, and still is, to convince and involve our working people in the implementation of the plan, and to expand the range for the application of the creativity of people, so that they may fulfill the true and tested motto: "Everyone a manager in his place of work."

Needless paper work and demands for great many reports and information have never yet helped develop competition anywhere. On the contrary, they hurt vigorous organizational work. If we pay attention to the tally of the results, it will be far more productive than any compilation of self-serving, duplicate reports that are burdening our basic organizations (particularly in places where the aktiv consists of volunteers only) as well as the competitors themselves.

We analyzed the criticism expressed recently by comrades Kocian and Greif and we fully agree with them. In contradiction to the statewide directives, the economic and trade union organs of the North Bohemian Lignite Mines in fact demanded from collectives some entirely needless paperwork. Similar instances are numerous. We must never burden teams of socialist labor and other participants in competition with filling our questionnaires and all kinds of administrative work. The essential criteria for the evaluation of teams are their achievements, their meritorious work, the practical results of the fulfillment of the teams' slogan--to work as socialists, to live as socialists.

Therefore, we request appropriate union organs and factory committees to assess critically, with economic organs, the range and purpose of the reports, information, administrative work in the areas of labor initiative and of the socialist labor teams movement, and to remedy the situation promptly.

#### Quality of Work and Products Is the Yardstick

Socialist competition will be even more efficient if it is linked closely with a further improvement of methods of management. Thousands and thousands of individuals who are growing up in the movement for the Trade Unionists' Billion are becoming good managers in their places of work. This process is progressing well in those basic trade union organizations where the working people have been acquainted with problems of management and are familiar with the values with which they are working, and where they discuss at conferences on production or at membership meetings the ways of utilizing additional reserves and potentials. This

economically and educationally praiseworthy effort which after its experience of 5 years appears even more beneficial, needs a new stimulus. However, only pertinent ministries with effective participation of trade union federations can set up specific targets for mobilizing the Trade Unionists' Billions.

Trade union organs and organizations cannot accept with resignation the improper practice where only the accounting departments know the gained savings, which appear only in reports to higher organs, while the competitors do not have any knowledge about the identity of the manager and his performance. In this instance, specific, objective agitation in workshops also could help considerably.

Good management also involves good use of working time and of basic funds, saving of manpower on the basis of labor rationalization, creation of conditions to reduce the fluctuation of workers whose qualification cost considerable investments and is narrowly linked with the achievement of products of high quality. Now it is necessary to pay more attention to these questions in trade union federations and to assess according to results achieved the actual contribution of trade unions to higher efficiency and of the management in plants and whole sectors.

Plant committees should insist at the same time on a more consistent application of material advantages for workers who helped essentially improve the quality of production, and, in general, application of the correct socialist practice of rewards. Analogically, indicators of quality of production and services must be considered among the essential conditions when granting enterprise, ministerial and societywide rewards, honors and other types of recognition, including the grant of Red Banners of the CSSR Government and of the Central Trade Union Council. We remind plant committees that an important yardstick for the assessment of the standard for the trade union work in a plant is the quality of products for domestic and foreign markets.

#### For Conferences on Production to Accomplish Their Purpose

The effort we are focusing on increased efficiency of production and quality of all work will be reflected also in our political-organizational work for the purpose of involving our working people in the management of production.

We have, for instance, considerable authority in organizing the working people's participation in the preparation of the plan; however, we cannot be satisfied with its application. In many enterprises, discussions of the draft for the plan with the working people are a formal, informative affair without specific conclusions. Some trade union organs have failed to express their views on the proposal for the plan at all, and the level of attitudes of many plant committees and higher federation organs is low.



This has been frequently explained as a result of insufficient time for the discussion of the proposed plan in places of work. If this argument often used to be legitimate in some instances, it no longer applies because the plan proposed for 1979 has been in the works since the beginning of this year. Its first stage should already have been completed in the area of enterprises.

Today we can already say that this extended period for preparation has not been used everywhere to engage the working people in the discussion concerning the proposal plan, to disclose and mobilize the reserves as demanded by the decision of the third plenum of the Central Trade Union Council in February of this year. In several places--for example, in the metal industry federation--the directives have not been discussed in every unit to this day. Now it is essential for the period before the end of this year to become a period for an energetic and purposeful mobilization of the workers' and technicians' creative forces in the search for efficient and rational ways not only for the adoption of challenging tasks but also for their comprehensive fulfillment.

Neither can we look idly at instances where the authority of the trade union organs serves to defend narrow interests of enterprises against societywide interests, and necessary attention is not paid to the enforcement of working people's initiative proposals and suggestions as how to utilize internal reserves in the enterprise to increase production, performance, efficiency and quality of work.

Conferences on production are very important for total involvement of the working people in the management of production. The number of conferences on production (absolutely and relatively), the working people's attendance in such conferences, and the total number of suggestions and proposals have reached a record high. Nevertheless, we cannot feel satisfied.

We have dealt on many previous occasions with the causes for the inadequate exploitation of conferences on production. It is our duty today to re-emphasize that last year at hundreds of thousands conferences on production no suggestions were presented and that almost one-fourth of the suggestions offered have not been applied.

The main reason for an insufficient exploitation of this tool of mass involvement of working people in the preparation and implementation of the plan, in the solution of problems in each place of work and in the management of production is inherent primarily in the poor performance of trade union organs and economic leaders as well as in the very level of conferences on production.

First of all, plant committees and plant and enterprise managements are failing to offer adequate assistance to foremen and sectional organizers in the organization of conferences on production. Trade union sections

are failing to prepare consistently well for conferences on production and the participants are not acquainted in advance with the agenda of the conference. In the discussion foremen and other economic leaders deal with questions mostly of an informative character. Suggestions offered by the participants have been processed slowly in many instances and often unanswered.

The low standard of conferences on production and the fact that they are not meeting their purpose by far have twofold consequences--economic and political ones. Not only the creativity of working people and their effort to contribute toward a more efficient management remains untapped but the fact that conferences on production are among the essential expressions of socialist democracy also remains underrated.

There is no need to recommend new prescriptions to remedy the aforementioned shortcomings. The method is known and confirmed in practice and by achievements in those places of work where each conference on production is planned and conducted jointly by foremen and the trade union section. This means that discussions of actual problems in that place of work are included in the agenda, proposals are carefully studied, suggestions are approached sensitively, the fulfillment of adopted conclusions is thoroughly checked and the next conference informed about the results, and foremen and sectional organizers are trained regularly. Those principles have been tested and confirmed many times over; however, thus far they have not been applied everywhere.

Improved performance of conferences on production presupposes that the central committee of trade union federations together with the ministries regularly review the application of principles pertaining to conferences on production, particularly in terms of their contribution toward the fulfillment of the plan and toward the solution of actual problems in the process of production.

#### More Effective Assistance to Basic Organizations

Efficiency of production, quality of all work and guarantee of a further dynamic development of our national economy may be positively affected by creativity, initiative and decisionmaking by trade union organs and officials in specific conditions and situations of plants, enterprises, sectors and whole ministries. Only thus the activities of the ROH members and organizations will advance in the desirable direction and on the required level.

It certainly will be correct if the Central Trade Union Council requests its presidium and secretariat to discuss the conclusions of central committees of trade union federations and regional trade union councils on shortcomings in the fulfillment of the economic function of trade unions, in the development of labor initiative and in conferences on production

in the federations of railways, transportation, communications and trade, and in the krajs of Central Bohemia, South Bohemia, East Bohemia, West Slovakia, East Slovakia and the capital city of Prague.

Also, after many years of experience, when we usually discuss every aspect of economic function, the Central Council should examine, gradually and in greater depth, individual vital questions concerning its fulfillment. For example, this involves conferences on production, the participation of trade unions in the enforcement of socialist principles of rewards and the progress of the movement for improvement and inventions. The problems of the movement of socialist labor teams will be discussed before the end of this year at a statewide conference.

When the Central Committee of the party stresses the challenge stemming from higher and more complex tasks, it has in view exactly that kind of an approach to the fulfillment of entrusted responsibility, whether it concerns an individual, a worker operating a machine, an official or a whole organization. Only then will it be possible to fulfill the party's economic policy which promotes the growth of prosperity in our society and the living standard of our working people.

## II.

Among the indispensable preconditions for the growth of production, fulfillment of the challenging national economic plan and implementation of higher efficiency of production and quality of all work are unity, coordination and a comprehensive effect of economic, social and educational factors. To neglect one sector means to weaken the development in others and conversely, the development of each individual area helps increase the standard of all activities. This important conclusion of the 11th plenum of the Central Committee has reaffirmed the validity of the directive of the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions--to fulfill even more resolutely the twofold tasks of trade unions, to promote economic development, the growth of production, and also the rights and interests of the working people and the conditions of their work and life. The emphasis which we are putting on the economic function of trade unions demands further attention to a balanced implementation of all trade union functions so as to create a favorable atmosphere in places of work and in plants, to strengthen the working people's trust in socialism and party policy, and to stir and foster people's interest in active participation in solving and mastering the increasingly more difficult tasks.

The long-term validity and fundamental importance of increased efficiency and quality and its inseparable link with the protection of the living standards of working people demand that this requirement permeate the whole activity of the trade unions. This is not a one-time action but a continuous struggle for people's consciousness and expansion of their political, ideological and professional level, so that they consciously implement the party policy which pursues their highest vital interests.

Comrade Gustav Husak, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, stressed at the meeting of the Central Committee: "Well appointed tasks, an efficient management and an involved approach by broad strata of our working people--those are the main guarantees for a successful progress."

Therefore, in the forefront, hand in hand with economic tasks, goes the responsibility of trade unions for leading their members and all our working people to a conscious working discipline, dedication, application of modern scientific knowledge, technology and progressive experience, for an irreconcilable attitude to all shortcomings and abuses, for vigorous and creative solution of tasks encountered in the daily life in plants and working collectives, and for guiding them to correct implementation of rights and responsibilities in the spirit of the labor code.

Our extensive experience indicates that incorrect practices, inconsistency, indecision and shirking from problems are conditions constantly reviving the negative aspects in people's actions and thoughts. Shortcomings in the management and labor organization are a hotbed for undisciplined work. Where control and accounting are lacking, where people must wait for the assignment of their tasks and supplies, their working discipline can be violated more easily, indifference to social interests and socialist ownership soon appears and various private "jobs on the side" are tolerated during the working hours. Some individuals are even shamelessly taking bribes and various "favours" for nothing more than having done their professional duties. Succumbing to egalitarian tendencies in awards to workers and distributing bonuses regardless of real merits--that fosters improper attitudes to social interests. All these questions are inseparably linked with the educational task of trade unions and with their missions as schools of socialism.

#### Relevance of Educational Work

As we appreciate that trade union organizations are exerting an increased effort in other sectors of trade union activity, their growing attention to the development of educational work may be evaluated just as positively. This is evident even in current action plans of basic trade union organizations in which the work of ideological education is not assigned less space than other areas of trade union activity. However, the goals set for educational work remain the least specific, and sufficient attention is not paid to the level of individual aspects in the educational work of trade unions. Therefore, it is imperative for plant committees as well as higher trade union organs to deal more comprehensively and thoroughly with the assessment of political and economic correlations of the life of collectives and also to set their main educational tasks on that basis.

When stressing the importance and responsibility of the educational work of trade union organizations, we address this demand not only to the ideological-educational aktiv, commissions, lecturers, departments and

centers of trade union education, plant clubs and cultural institutions, but literally to all trade union officials. Who else should serve as a model and example for other members of trade unions than those who were elected to head the trade union organization and to organize its activity. We expect that every trade union official will explain in his daily personal contact with the working people the CPCZ policy and the purpose of the ROH's activity, not only with phrases but in the way they are reflected in specific conditions of the life of collectives and of each individual. Many officials, however, are avoiding precisely this kind of personal confrontation with working people's questions and suggestions and failing to react to erroneous actions and attitudes of the people in their places of work. This does not boost their authority. It weakens not only the educational effect of the trade union organization on the working people but also the effectiveness of all trade union work. Therefore, we must equip our officials with better information and arguments.

Personal contacts with the members and individual motivation--those are the main forms of political activity of trade union officials. The development of political activity means most of all fostering an active attitude to one's assigned work and adapting the people's actions and creativity according to the needs of our socialist society as an expression of the fundamental class interests of the workers and other working people.

The most necessary educational method at present is systematic individual work with each member of a trade union organization in his place of work, on the basis of his own experience.

The demand that the members of trade union organizations exert personal influence pertains primarily to the officials of trade union sectors and of socialist labor brigades. Trade union sectors and socialist labor brigades represent organizationally solid and clear-cut collectives exerting mutual educational effect on individuals and applying the influence of the workers' collective. We expect particularly that socialist labor brigades not only exert educational influence on their members but that they affect in that respect also other working collectives and individual workers by their own example and persuasion. Precisely this experience demands that plant committees pay special attention and render assistance to the leaders of collectives of socialist labor brigades and to sectional organizers.

In this context we also stress again the importance of the economic education of working people. With the rapidly increasing forces of production the management of the national economy is becoming an increasingly more complex and demanding process. Simultaneously it requires that its basic characteristics be known not only to the leading officials but also to other working people because they have an important role in the development of our economy. Economic propaganda and agitation should therefore inform the people about the main tasks and problems in the national economy and in individual places of work along the lines discussed at the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee.

### Specific and Direct Approach in Propaganda

From that stems the actual task for trade union organs and particularly for plant committees--to supplement, improve, and implement the plans for economic propaganda and agitation in the next period. At the same time we repeat the requirement that the central committees of trade union federations, together with ministries and central institutions, set a very specific range of questions on which our economic propaganda and agitation will be focused in places of work, and to adopt effective measures for its fulfillment.

Also, economic and political education in trade union sectors and particularly in schools of socialist labor must acquaint our working people more systematically with the basic knowledge of socialist political economy, the CPCZ economic policy and specific problems in the plant. Methodological directives for the training of officials and members in the next year of study stress that the conclusions of the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee be adopted comprehensively by the trade union aktiv as well as by other working people. They also outline the preconditions for the further development of schools of socialist labor. What it involves now is that they serve in the spirit of higher requirements as a school of progressive methods of work and a school of efficiency and high quality of work, and that the acquired knowledge be reflected in an even more active, independent, creative solution of the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

We shall apply the conclusions of the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee also in the ideological and cultural-educational work of the ROH. Questions which have been stressed by the Central Committee, which we are solving today at the Central Trade Union Council plenum and which represent the main tasks of the ROH for the current period must be fully projected particularly in the plans of plant clubs and houses of culture of the ROH where annual conferences are now taking place. Moreover, this applies to the press of trade unions, especially to both our dailies, which must fulfill even more outstandingly the responsible task of collective propagandists and organizers of the experience of trade union work and become a reliable tool for the development of trade union activities as stipulated by the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions.

### More Attention to Social Policy

If we put the tasks of comprehensive educational work in working collectives in the narrowest link with the development of the economic function of trade unions, if we stress the role of political maturity and attitude to party policy of trade union members as one of the essential factors for the achievement of meaningful national economic objectives, that does not mean that we have underestimated other factors which are directly affecting the political and working atmosphere and that we might be pushing to the background the importance of material concerns for the working and other

living conditions of our working people. On the contrary, all our preceding experience leads us to concentrate on these areas of care for the workers which are giving them social security, enabling them to work with contentment and in safety and to restore their ability to work. At the same time they are playing an enormous role in the struggle for better exploitation of working time and production funds and against increased overtime and costs of production proper. Therefore, we discussed these correlations at the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Among the factors directly affecting the fulfillment of the plan which are in the focus of the innermost interest of the working people are the standards of safety and health protection at work. Therefore, insurance of safe and sound working conditions is in the forefront of the social policy of the party and of the trade unions.

We can note with satisfaction that in 1977 the rate of injuries at work decreased further, that total accidents at work dropped and their rate per 100 workers declined; we noted that a corner was turned in the rate of fatal injuries. The number of fatal accidents in 1977 dropped by 9.3 percent as compared with the previous year. The incidence of illness has been developing favorably.

Nevertheless, we cannot let ourselves be lulled by this overall favorable development. A more detailed analysis indicates that while the rate of accidents at work has dropped, the period of working disability per injury was extended last year, which implies that the rate of more serious injuries has increased.

The development of injuries at work in individual trade union federations differs considerably. It is positive in the federations of workers in chemical, paper and glass industries and in the press where last year the rate of accidents was reduced by almost 10 percent. Favorable results have been evidenced also in the trade union federations of construction workers, in the production of construction materials and in the trade union federations of workers in wood industry and in forest and water economy. On the other hand, the number of occupational diseases has increased in the trade union federations of the mining and food industries, in agriculture and health services.

We are convinced that the pertinent trade union federations will discuss the development of accidents at work and occupational diseases in their sectors, that they will study more thoroughly the causes of fatal accidents, occupational diseases and the development of other indicators, and that they will seek ways to improve health and prevent injury.

Systematic care for safety and health protection in places of work will lead to a constant improvement of the working environment and protect the most precious value--people's health and life. Conditions and standards

of the working environment obviously affect economic output. If some economic workers and, unfortunately, some trade union officials still fail to realize this fact, it is not only myopia but also dereliction of their legal duties entrusted to the leading workers by the socialist society and of the moral responsibility of trade union members. The trade union organs should better apply the right of control with which they also have been authorized in this respect and in accordance with the law.

This does not and cannot involve only control, however, but also effective participation. This applies most of all to annual public tests of labor safety which have already become a tradition and whose contribution to successful development of accident prevention at work in recent years is indisputable. An advantage of such tests is that they help remove most disclosed shortcomings immediately or in a short time. Nevertheless, we must not shut our eyes to the fact that after the tests are completed, attention to those questions diminishes and we admit that a number of various, though minor defects needlessly accumulate during the year. It is a fact that some, although a minor part of the conclusions stemming from the tests is implemented slowly or postponed and passed from one year to another, even though that usually involves measures which might be considerably effective in production itself.

In that respect the role of comprehensive programs for the welfare of workers comes to the fore; its most important component is precisely the solution of questions of safety and health protection at work and creation of the best possible working environment.

#### One Million of Participants in Lunch Programs Added Since 1972

An important area of social policy is the improvement of food service in plants. During the first 2 years of the Sixth Five-Year Plan the number of participants in lunch programs increased by 5 percent and together with other forms of food service amounts to 2.5 million working people. This is an increase of more than 1 million since 1972, i.e., since the Eighth Congress of All Trade Unions. For example, the kraj trade union council in South Bohemia focused its attention on the best possible utilization of the existing facilities and requisitioned new capacities with only the most necessary funds and construction requirements. Just in the okres of Ceske Budejovice 4 new plant kitchens were put into operation in the last 2 years and a large capacity kitchen is planned for joint construction at the Motor national enterprise with participation of 51 plants and institutes. This effort resulted in a 7-percent increase in the number of participants in lunch programs in 2 years, 36 percent in second and third shifts. Moreover, hot meals will be served to railway employees in this kraj.



Despite these overall favorable results we cannot say that everything possible has already been done. The approach by many economic and trade union organs to food service in plants does not correspond to its importance for the restoration of the labor force and for the working man's health. Even some officials of state organs have acted as though this involved social expenses unrelated to the fulfillment of the objectives of the plan. So far the contribution of food service in plants to the economy and to health has not been properly and adequately appreciated.

We still have considerable potential for expanding food service in plants even within the framework of existing capacities. Although many installations are not fully utilized even by the working people in their own plants, many plants have barred workers from other organizations from them with reference to economic and other reasons. From that stems our task of concluding the discussion concerning an adjustment of regulations causing such disadvantageous tendencies.

The way to make food service in plants available to more working people without special requirements for investments, without high costs and even with savings of manpower is demonstrated, for instance, by a project planned on the basis of an analysis of the situation of food service in plants in the okres of Kutna Hora. It involves basically a concentration of meal preparation in suitable facilities in plants with underutilized capacities and delivering hot or frozen food for messhalls in plants and cafeterias at places of work. This form of development of food service in plants is more efficient and productive than building small and unprofitable kitchens in plants.

The gradually introduced production of frozen foods has brought great opportunities which will improve food service in continuous operations or in operations with several shifts, as practiced by the Kaucuk in Kralupy, Ceskomoravska-Kolben-Danek national enterprise in Kronov, Tepna in Nachod, East Bohemia Chemical Plants in Semtin and in 40 other plants. The kraj and okres trade union councils should act even more vigorously than before to exploit more intensively all facilities including restaurant operations while preserving the principle of food service in plants, and coordinate the concentration of facilities in enterprises and national committees, merging the programs "Z" and "Trade Unionists for their Plants" so as to complete the construction of new dining facilities. Of course, it is not possible to rely solely on the kraj and okres organs of all trade unions. Also the UVOS, CVOS and SVOZ must discuss with the ministries the planning of future programs for food service in plants within individual sectors with respect to specific nutritional requirements, and also with the Ministry of Engineering the necessity to manufacture more modern equipment for plant kitchens.

### By Concentration of Forces and Means

An important aspect of social policy which is to serve the restoration and development of physical and mental strength is the development of recreation. Although the total number of participants in selective recreation of the ROH was successfully raised and although we have taken the first steps toward better exploitation of facilities for recreation of enterprises, we have not exhausted all our opportunities. Therefore, it still applies that the trade union organs and kraj trade union councils must take steps toward more comprehensive utilization of capacities in the plant and enterprise recreational facilities, particularly for the benefit of the smaller collectives which will never have sufficient resources to build their own facilities. It is necessary to apply precisely here the principles of trade union solidarity which have been stressed again in the Plan for the Activity of the ROH for the current year.

The conclusions of the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee have assigned the trade unions as well as state and economic organs, national committees and plant management the task of creating conditions for making women's work easier, for providing appropriate services, and thus for facilitating the fulfillment of their relevant mission in the family and society. One of the most urgent tasks in this respect is the building of kindergartens and day-care centers which will also enable a great many women to rejoin the labor process much sooner.

Although in the 2 years of the Sixth Five-Year Plan the number of openings in kindergartens and day-care centers has increased substantially--to a certain degree from the funds and means of plants and with efficient assistance by the working people--there still remain many unfulfilled applications for children's placement in such preschool facilities. Complete satisfaction of this interest depends primarily on the working people's initiative, on trade union organizations and organs on every level. The kraj and okres trade union councils should further promote concentration of funds and overcome the red tape and lack of understanding during the process of accreditation.

The activity of plant committees and other trade union organs must be enhanced also when solving other questions in this area, as, for instance, improvement of the enterprise housing policy as an important stimulus for stabilization of workers and intensification of their attitudes to the enterprise and socialist society.

A significant contribution to the fulfillment of the comprehensive program for workers' welfare is the members' initiative reflected in the action "Trade Unionists for their Plants and for the Republic" in which 61 million hours of voluntary work were completed in 1977. Specific objectives are stipulated in action plans and the planned number of hours has been traditionally surpassed every year. The action "Trade Unionists for their

Plants" resulted in lasting values represented by improved working environment and construction of social, hygienic, health and recreational facilities.

Thus, this relatively novel form of working people's initiative has become a permanent and integral part in the fulfillment of the comprehensive program for workers' welfare. Therefore, we shall continue it. Simultaneously with its development, however, it is necessary to take care that it concentrates on relevant tasks of social policy of the enterprise to ensure its efficiency. This presupposes most of all closer cooperation of enterprise committees with national committees so as to remove jointly the obstacles impeding the construction of joint facilities.

#### To Support Solutions of Economic Tasks

One of the meaningful resources for financing the working people's welfare and the objectives of social policy of enterprises are the funds for cultural and social needs. Due to a new arrangement, the resources of the funds for cultural and social needs increased by Kcs 840 million over 1975. The review of the past year demonstrated that a total of Kcs 4.7 billion from this fund have been spent.

That is a considerable amount, making all the more necessary the question of whether the resources of the fund for cultural and social needs have been always properly and expediently used to benefit the main objectives of social policy of the enterprises. In fact, great differences between sectors, enterprises and plants are concealed behind the total amount. For instance, several enterprises, particularly in textile, garment and leatherworking industries, have paid due attention to the development of food service in plants, spending for that purpose more than 20 percent, and some as much as 40 percent, from the funds for cultural and social needs. On the other hand, there are organizations which have earmarked an insignificant amount for food service in plants, while on the other hand, overextending the amounts for foreign and other trips and, increased grants to soccer clubs and then requested various exemptions from the directives.

Moreover, it is a serious fact that the applicable funds from the funds for cultural and social needs are not being fully drawn during the year. Some accumulation of funds may be justified by the preparation for more expensive actions, however, it is not correct to make no use over a long period of funds designated for the social and cultural development of collectives. The trade union organs must deal with such cases and properly guide the plant committees to a correct use of the resources granted for the working people's benefit. Trade union organizations in plants are exerting a meaningful influence on the use of funds for cultural and social needs and therefore, they cannot shirk from the co-responsibility to the working people and our society for using them well and really efficiently. At the same time no trade union official

can forget for one moment that the creation of the funds depends on fulfillment of the plan, on the gain of planned profits and other indicators and on increased efficiency and high quality of products.

Thorough application of the conclusions of the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee demands that trade union organs--from plant committees up to central committees of trade union federations--pay attention to the preparation and specification of economic plans and at the same time also to a further improvement of safety and health protection at work, better working conditions, renewal of the work force, education and upgrading of qualification, food service in plants, housing and social needs of the working people in the framework of comprehensive programs for workers' welfare and annual collective contracts.

In the sense of conclusions of the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions, the trade unions should see to it more energetically that the economic sector organs understand properly their tasks in the area of social policy and that they prepare long-term concepts for the establishment of the working environment in order to further reduce injury at work and improve overall working conditions.

The aim of trade union organs is to improve and especially to fulfill the comprehensive program for workers' welfare as the essential form of planning social policy of enterprises in support of the solution of economic tasks and intensification of working people's conscious participation in their fulfillment.

### III.

The tasks of the current era and the necessity to intensify the role of trade unions in economic development have objectively set before the whole ROH the demand to increase substantially the level of the political-organizational work and life within the trade unions. This involves a continuous process of creating an atmosphere of considerable challenge, criticism, initiative, integrity and creative approach which increases the demands on the organs of the ROH, organizations and officials.

We are not dealing with such crucial problems for the first time. The decisions of the congress and the conclusions of the 5th and 11th plenums of the Central Trade Union Council held between the 8th and 9th Congresses of All Trade Unions were of fundamental significance for the achievement of an upturn and a higher level of political-organizational work. They provided the foundations for the qualitative changes in the work of trade union sectors, basic organizations, the middle and higher level organs of the ROH, and for the intensification of the forms and methods of their work. As stressed by the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions, a thorough application of the conclusions of both plenums remains a constant point of departure for the continuous activity of basic organizations, for the intensification and development of the role and activity of sectional

organizers, for a more active participation of trade union federations in the activity of the ROH and for the intensification of the unifying and coordinating efforts of all trade union organs. Therefore, we must always return to them. The Central Trade Union Council plenum must play an analogous role.

#### The Meaningful Role of Action Plans of the ROH

Due to the concentrated effort, increased activity and devoted work of most trade union organs and officials, the most urgent tasks were successfully solved and the most important objectives set for individual stages were accomplished. Trade union organs and organizations have fulfilled far more equitably the basic functions of the ROH with an emphasis on the fulfillment of tasks in economic development and on the work initiative and activity of its members. Most organs or all trade unions and federations are striving for more efficient forms of work and a firmer link with basic organizations, and for intensification of their managing and organizational work. A broad aktiv of volunteer officials has been established. In basic organizations it consists of more than 1.8 million officials, of whom almost 500,000 are officials of trade union sectors. This development which corresponds to the decisions of the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions aims at attaining creative trade union work and trade union participation in the implementation of the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

Furthermore, the decision of the Eighth and Ninth Congresses of All Trade Unions to safeguard purposeful and comprehensive work of the entire ROH by means of annual action plans uniting the activity of all basic links of the movement to joint principal tasks has been confirmed and fully justified. The standard of action plans is improving yearly due to concentrated attention and aid from the higher trade union organs. This year they are already reacting objectively to the conclusions of the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions, better reflecting the specific character of the ministries, plants and workplaces, and guiding the officials and members specifically and more directly.

At the same time we cannot overlook the fact that numerous shortcomings still exist inside the trade unions. As concerns qualitative objectives, we have achieved a relatively rapid improvement of the situation and have come nearer to the aims expressed in the statutes and in the decision of the congress. On the other hand, the improvement of the work of trade unions is a far more difficult process, and thus, here we have many more gaps and shortcomings. The more complex the tasks, the more serious these shortcomings; we already pointed out their roots at the 11th plenum of the Central Trade Union Council in 1975, at the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions and at other occasions. They are constantly reappearing in new forms, in various degrees, but they always stem from the same causes.

## Against Needless Paperwork

The more thoroughly we have analyzed the shortcomings, the more often it has appeared that to a great extent the trade union organs are doing busy work, preparing too many materials and reviews, and composing various provisions and reports. The work of the apparatus of higher trade union organs and released officials has followed mostly this direction and then they have no time to spare for organizing the activity of plant committees, for the aktiv of officials and for work among members. The data from krajs have indicated that workers of the kraj committees of trade union federations and district trade union councils, i.e., organs which in their operation should fulfill the tasks in basic organizations of the ROH organizations--are spending up to 70 percent of their working time at various meetings and conferences. In other instances the processing of many written reports and materials consumed up to 60 percent of all the officials' time. Thus, only 15 or sometimes 20 and at the more 25 percent of the working time was left for the essential work with the aktiv and for direct assistance to basic organizations.

Whenever we criticize this practice, the comrades refer to the requirements made by superior trade union and other organs and to the fact that they are pursuing the same activity. Indeed, lately there have appeared large numbers of the most diverse "black" statistical reports required from basic organizations by okres trade union councils and kraj committees of trade union federations. While the members of commissions, released workers and members of elected organs should go to plants and organizations to check the situation on the spot, to get acquainted with the problems and help solve them, a merry-go-round of paperwork starts turning, but it fails to offer a truthful picture of real life and its problems. Moreover, it distracts from the specific practical fulfillment of the tasks. Therefore, we must end such situations without delay because they deaden the trade union officials' creativity and vital, direct work among members.

A part of the managing and organizational work of the whole ROH consists of specification, implementation and verification of the fulfillment of adopted decisions. Each of these aspects determines the efficiency and quality of all our work, but it appears that numerous trade union organs see their main mission in making decisions and assessing the standard of work according to the number of decisions adopted with respect to this or that problem. For example, the kraj and municipal committees of trade union federations, the okres and county councils in the krajs of North Bohemia, South Bohemia, North Moravia and West Slovakia and in Bratislava adopted a total of 32,000 decisions in the last 2 years. This number in itself does not say much, but it is important that only less than one-fifth of those decisions were elicited by the decision of superior trade union organs. Furthermore, two-thirds of those decisions were addressed to their own organs and commissions, demanding presentation of additional decisions, documents and information.

That means that each basic organization in those krajs was assigned on the average 83 tasks annually (i.e., about 7 tasks monthly) and 26 various reports (i.e., 2 every months) were requested above the framework of the stipulated statewide reports and statistics. At the same time, it is necessary to realize, on the one hand, that substantially more numerous tasks and reports than the average would indicate fell upon individual basic organizations of some federations and okreses, and on the other hand, that roughly one-half of the organizations are receiving even more decisions, tasks and questionnaires from the okres committees of trade union federations.

From the results of individual okreses or kraj committees of trade union federations it appears that the compilation of a great many decisions is not projected at all into better performance of meetings, into the level of conferences on production and into mass political work on the whole; just the reverse is true.

The high number of decisions, therefore, does not have to lead to greater activity and better fulfillment of tasks, particularly if they are of a general character, repeating and duplicating decisions adopted by superior trade union organs, if they avoid solution of crucial problems and fail to lead to efficient assistance and vigorous activity in basic organizations.

As for the ability to fulfill them, despite all improvements it is limping on both legs because in many places the adopted decision has not been referred to or only in a superficial manner. Also, assistance to basic organizations is general, undifferentiated and applied in emergencies. In most cases the whole assistance consists of calling together the aktiv at which the plant committees are informed about the decision.

The control, if any, is not continuous and consistent; it is not addressed to the type of specific problems which have been, or are being solved by the decision, to its advantage for the work of the trade union and for the fulfillment of main tasks, and to its specific contribution to the members. Where the adopted decisions are general, without any accountability and deadlines, there is nothing to control; it is extremely difficult to determine what is necessary for the achievement of the stipulated task and to assess the achievement after a lapse of time.

What we wish to accomplish is that, when elaborating the decisions of the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions and the plenum of the Central Trade Union Council, the top and middle trade unions in particular proceed creatively, that they solve systematically, step by step, the questions connected with the intensification and fulfillment of individual functions of trade unions, that they be acquainted more thoroughly with the situation of the movement and adopt only really indispensable decisions, those which advance the work, that they focus more energy on their fulfillment and control, and constantly bear in mind those to whom the decision is

addressed and the conditions of its application. The way of the decision to the basic organization must be as short as possible. We must accomplish what we have discussed already on several occasions--that the organs at every level exert their energies to assist the basic organizations in fulfilling those decisions. This applies to the highest organs as well, including the Central Trade Union Council.

#### With Knowledge of the Situation and Needs

Again we stress the requirement of the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions that the work of the organs of federations be improved, beginning with central committees. We emphasized as early as 3 years ago that the federations are the organizers of the working people's involvement in management, of the development of initiative and of the care for the satisfaction of their needs and of educational work stemming from the tasks of the federations. The specifically sectional content of their work consists of their organically linking this activity in their external relation to appropriate sectional managing organs as well as fulfilling their managing and organizing task within trade unions.

In spite of all efforts, this task of the trade union federations is unsatisfactory in practical application. Last year, for instance, basic organizations already had the plans for their activity prepared for a long time when the central committees of trade union federations--with some exceptions--finally specified common definite tasks of a sectional character. The situation is no better in other areas of trade union activity, as we have demonstrated already on lagging economic propaganda. It appears increasingly more clearly that the organs of all trade unions are objectively unable to determine the sectional direction of the activity of organizations. No need to stress in particular that precisely such a situation leads to greater formalism, routinism and superficiality in trade union work.

Central committees of trade union federations, therefore, must make a more vigorous effort so that, when implementing joint tasks, the whole mechanism of the activity of the federation elaborates them according to the conditions of sectors and federations, objectively and flexibly, aware of the situation, and moreover, it must develop with more premeditation the activity of the federation in economic production units, the results of which will determine the fulfillment of the party's economic policy as well as several questions connected with the satisfaction of broad interests of our working people.

When giving accounts of the work of the ROH and searching for ways to increase support for party policy, we want to draw lessons with the same challenge also for the further activity of all trade union organs. They consolidated their position and developed their activity in the period since the Ninth Congress of the Central Trade Union Council. They became



an important link organizing in the conditions of krajs and okreses the participation of trade unions in the implementation of the CPCZ policy and in joint tasks of the National Front; they are participating in the development of socialist democracy. We are obligated in particular to kraj and especially okres trade union councils for advancing the activity of basic organizations.

All trade union organs are playing a relevant role in the comprehensive fulfillment of the tasks of the ROH in individual krajs and okreses. Thanks to okres trade union councils, we achieved a considerable progress in the activity of trade union sectors and in membership meetings held regularly by the basic organizations.

Nevertheless, their work still suffers from numerous shortcomings which are reflected in the inferior efficiency of their activity and in the poor specific management of basic organizations, which does not correspond to current requirements. By amendments of the statutes, the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions further defined the contacts between the federation and organs of all trade unions in krajs and okreses and their relations to basic organizations. We stressed that this correct relation must be much more distinctly expressed also in the style and methods of work, in essential elimination of duplications and in concentration of the forces on management and differentiated assistance to basic organizations. The conclusions of the 11th CPCZ Central Committee's plenum emphasized even more the urgency of this requirement.

#### Comprehensive Concept of the Work of Organizers

The standard of the activity of the ROH is further determined by principles which we underlined at the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions as the fundamental requirement for an efficient management of the work of trade unions. Therefore, it is necessary to link constantly and consistently the assistance by superior trade union organs to plant committees with intensified attention of the plant committees to sectional organizers and with daily activities of sectional organizers among the members for the purpose of stimulating effective working, trade union and political activity of the members and of all our working people. Herein lies the demanding character of the work of trade unions and the substance of the political-organizational work of trade unions in the current period.

Let us, however, admit quite frankly that a comprehensive concept of organizational work has been enforced only very slowly. Alongside positive trends we are finding constantly that considerable differences still exist between the standards and results of work in individual plant committees. For that reason the intensification and organization of the work of trade union sectors, of the aktiv of officials and the exploitation of the opportunities offered to us by their broad network and their daily contact with the working people have not been as successful as we would wish.

Neither can we be pleased with the situation of activities at meetings, although the average number of meetings for the basic organizations and cultural centers of the ROH as well as the members' average participation rose since the 11th plenum of the Central Trade Union Council and we approached the requirements of the statutes.

If in 1977 there were on average more than nine meetings per trade union sector attended by 82 percent of the members, then these meetings provided us with an opportunity to influence almost every month at the trade union meetings the attitudes, actions, working and political activities of the great majority of members, and to prepare conditions for their participation in solving of problems with a trade union and societywide character.

An overall improvement has been achieved in every kraj and trade union federation. Particularly outstanding is the East Bohemia kraj which was among the last krajs in 1974 while today it is the best with 10.4 meetings of the trade union sectors. We may assess in the same way the development in the kraj of South Bohemia and others.

At the same time, we must again call attention to the fact that development is not balanced everywhere. The trade union organs in the kraj of North Bohemia, in federations of the construction workers and workers in the production of construction materials, in wood industry, in forest and water economy, food industry, railways, trade and others certainly must draw a lesson and specific conclusions from the fact that they are--despite an indisputable improvement--constantly below the statewide average. Also, the comrades from the Prague trade union council should assess the fact that despite the increased average number of their meetings per trade union sector since 1974 they dropped from the 1st to the 11th place in the category of krajs. This is easy to explain. The improved rate of meetings proceeded in Prague substantially more slowly than anywhere else.

A very serious fact deserving everybody's attention--from the Central Trade Union Council up to basic organizations--is the stagnation and in some instances, even decline, in the number of participants in discussions in the trade union sector. We detect its cause most of all in the still inferior quality of those meetings. Many meetings are held only for the purpose of information. An incorrect practice continues where the meetings of the trade union sector have been replaced by conferences on production or even by 10-minute briefings. The assignment for the battle before which we are now standing is to change this situation and to get the meetings to fulfill their purpose and raise the working people's interest in participation and in discussions.

The organization of meetings and their intensification depend also on the standard and style of the work performed by plant and workshop committees with sectional organizers. Plant committees cannot leave the care for

sectional organizers only to workshop committees. The activity of sectional organizers would be favorably affected if they are called not only to get acquainted with the decisions but also for conferences on relevant questions of trade union work and also to exchange experience, whenever it may be necessary.

Our experience has shown that we must continuously supplement and upgrade the board of sectional organizers. For that reason we should be further guided by the valid decision of the Fifth plenum of the Central Trade Union Council, according to which the politically most mature and most experienced members of working collectives should be elected to the office of sectional organizers. A favorable response from organizations where we had tested this decision has confirmed that in order to upgrade the activity of sectional organizers we should make considerably more use of the supplements to our dailies DUVERNIK ROH [Trustee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement].

We are convinced that an active approach to the development of political-organizational work and life inside trade unions will earn the support of members who are interested in trade unions everywhere to help efficiently the working people to overcome difficulties and shortcomings while fulfilling their tasks. Then we may expect with confidence an expansion of their political and working activity as well as the participation of trade unions in the solution of the tasks which are facing us in the coming period.

#### IV.

When implementing the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress we are testing the accuracy of our approach to the solution of basic tasks in the building of a developed socialist society under new, substantially more complex conditions. Our experience has confirmed that for successful trade union work it is necessary to conduct a tenacious and persistent struggle. Further success of the activity of the ROH depends even more on how the basic organizations follow the adopted goal, how we deal with the shortcomings within our own ranks, and how we understand and express practically the role of trade unions and their societywide responsibility for the advance of socialism. This is the basis for the task of our movement as socialist trade unions; this is the guarantee of constant strengthening of their revolutionary character.

This was confirmed again in full at the recent Ninth World Trade Union Congress in Prague by a comparison of the status and role of trade unions in the socialist countries with the position of trade unions in the capitalist world. From that it followed that only the socialist system has created realistic preconditions for comprehensive satisfaction of the working people's needs, making it possible, in harmony with their desires, for the trade union to be actively involved in the solution of economic and state affairs, to serve fully the workers class and to defend its interests, to participate in the discussion of every question related

to the people's life and work. Many delegates appreciated the example of the socialist trade unions as an outstanding contribution to the working people's struggle in capitalist and developing countries for a just system of social relations and as one of the most meaningful expressions of proletarian solidarity; the words of appreciation coming from their mouths have not only support the preceding effort but at the same time urgently stressed our international responsibility--to fulfill the challenging tasks of a further dynamic development of socialist society everywhere, promptly and well.

The Ninth World Trade Union Congress reminded us that we must not forget for one moment the relevant international context of our work and most of all, that the current international situation and the balance of power in the world are essential preconditions for dedicating ourselves to the building of socialism in peace. On the other hand, it reminded us how significant every achievement of Czechoslovak working people is for the consolidation of the case of progress and world peace, how relevant the good work of the ROH is and what a stimulus and support it means for the progressive forces in the world. At the same time, it reminded us of the international political significance of the good reputation of socialist Czechoslovakia, based on the high quality of its products and of all work.

Due to the enormous majority of the working people who supported the course which we had begun after April 1969 with a new party leadership headed by Comrade Gustav Husak, outstanding achievements were accomplished in the development of socialist Czechoslovakia and in the improvement of our people's life, which evokes rightful pride and is a source of our country's high international authority.

For that reason violent attacks are still being launched by all those forces for whom the growth of the world of realistic socialism, the support of the communist party's policy by the masses of millions as well as the role of socialist trade unions are a thorn in their flesh.

We Have Not Forgotten the Lesson From the Development of Crisis

The international reaction cannot resign itself especially to the fact that 10 years ago, thanks to the international aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist allies, its plans for a counterrevolutionary takeover in Czechoslovakia failed. The collective force of the countries in the socialist community stood up against the coordinated attack by international imperialism, and proletarian and socialist internationalism proved itself in practice. The acute threat of counterrevolution was repelled, the workers class saved its socialist achievements. Thus, internal and external conditions were created for the continued peaceful and harmonious work of the Czechoslovak people.

Recently our class opponents and various anticommunist centers have been trying to offer us advice again how to "improve" socialism; they start a hue and cry whenever we rap those who are harming the interests of the Czechoslovak people over their knuckles. They have assumed hypocritically the role of defenders of democratic rights and freedoms, also issuing recipes for the trade unions on how to better protect the working people's interests. They are searching for support among the handful of discredited shipwrecks and turncoats, counting even on the momentum of petty bourgeois anachronisms and illusions in the minds of some people in our country, but they are profoundly mistaken if they believe that they could fool our people again with false slogans as they did in 1968. During the past few years our working people have learned well enough the real values of socialism and are aware of what the CPCZ policy means to them.

We have not forgotten the lessons drawn from the development of crisis by the CPCZ and the conclusions which we are enforcing in the activity of the ROH. They remain a constant source of stimuli; they have inspired our increased effort for further advancement of our socialist society. We are referring to them also now while contemplating our current and future tasks and domestic and international relations of this truly revolutionary struggle.

We are referring to them to reemphasize that we are aware of what the Leninist CPCZ and its principled policy mean for the achievement of the most vital desires of the working class and of other working people for a joyful present and a happy future.

We are referring to them to underline again the high societywide responsibility of the ROH for the fulfillment of the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress and for the achievement of the goals of a developed socialist society.

#### The Rich Contribution of Cooperation With the USSR

Czechoslovakia is now experiencing one of the most successful periods in her building of socialism. Our people's dedicated, diligent work for the implementation of the party policy is solidly based on our friendship, alliance and cooperation with the first socialist country in the world--with the Soviet Union.

The visit by the Soviet delegation led by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, reaffirmed last week the firmness of the Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance which serves as a reliable guarantee of the vital interests of the working people in both countries, intensifies the unity and coherence of the socialist community and consolidates peace in Europe and in the world. We welcomed Comrade

Brezhnev as a close, true friend, as a direct participant in the liberation of our fatherland, as an experienced representative of the international communist and workers movement, as a tireless fighter for a lasting peace in the world. We again realized deeply the essential significance of our cooperation with the USSR in implementing the program of the building of a developed socialist society, and its enormous contribution in guaranteeing a dynamic development of the national economy and satisfaction of the working people's needs. The immediate support and assistance of the Soviet Union which we are experiencing in every area and which enables us to solve enormous tasks of the current era, motivate us constantly also in the work of our trade unions to draw from the rich fountain of Soviet experience and to contribute tirelessly toward intensified fraternal relations of the peoples of both countries.

We are taking advantage of this occasion on behalf of the members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to support fully the results of the discussions with the Soviet delegation and the addresses by Comrade Brezhnev and Husak and to express again our vital interest in the cooperation, alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union--the guarantee of socialist development and of Czechoslovakia's solid international position.

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It is not the purpose of the fourth plenum of the Central Trade Union Council to set up new tasks. The conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress as well as of the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions remain valid without any reservation. In harmony with the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee we have replied to the questions of how to guarantee the fulfillment of the tasks stipulated by the congresses and by the Sixth Five-Year Plan, and how to improve all our work. Therefore, in conclusion of this report, we wish to turn attention of the entire ROH and particularly of the plant committees to the method by which they should deal with these questions.

First of all, we recommend that the plant committees be given the assignment to discuss without any delay the conclusions of this plenum of the Central Trade Union Council, to evaluate the standard of trade union performance in the range of their activity, to review main causes of shortcomings, and to prepare a proposal of measures with which they will appear before their membership meetings. Simultaneously, they will adjust in this spirit their action plan to the end of this year. They will discuss with sectional organizers suggestions for membership meetings.

Second, they will deal with detailed review of the work in each basic organization at the very next membership meeting, the agenda of which is reserved for a discussion of the tasks of the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and the fourth plenum of the Central Trade Union Council, and they will adopt specific decisions.

Third, on the basis of the decisions of the plant committees a conference on production will be held after this membership meeting in places of work; its agenda will consist of specific conclusions stemming from the decisions of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the Central Trade Union Council for a given place of work, with special emphasis on quality of products, savings and exploitation of raw materials, supplies and power, guidance of the working people's initiative and proposals, and ways to implement the task of the conferences on production.

Fourth, we shall enforce the conclusions of the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the fourth plenum of the Central Trade Union Council in semiannual public tests of fulfillment of the national economic plan, the action plan of the basic organization, collective contracts and the development of the working people's initiative. Precisely this year this test should be particularly critical, based on a thorough analysis and lead to totally specific conclusions and measures.

Fifth, the conclusions of the CPCZ Central Committee and the Central Trade Union Council will provide the main guidance for the preparation of the plan for 1979, when it is necessary to determine together with the economic management the objectives of the development of initiative, so that specific, correctly oriented pledges can be made promptly.

Sixth, the plant committees will refer to them in their full extent when drafting the action plan for the basic organization and the collective contract for 1979, so that they reflect expressively the focus on efficiency and quality of all work, thus also of the work of trade unions.

Seventh, plant committees will also refer to the conclusions of this plenum of the Central Trade Union Council during the coming period when discussing each question; they will project them into their entire activity.

Eighth, the method of critical analysis and great challenge must be adopted most of all by the higher trade union organs because the lower organs and plant committees are guided by them and learn from their example; the plans and all work of the superior organs of trade unions must proceed from that fact. Organs of the federations will again discuss responsibly the tasks and problems of the ministries as well as the critical suggestions addressed to them and draw from them practical conclusions for their activity.

If we are really critical in scrutinizing the work completed thus far everywhere, in every basic organization and in the organs of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, if we responsibly assess the suggestions for its improvement and discuss them with the members, if we win the members for active participation, if we demonstrate sufficient determination and constancy, and if we refer to the conclusions and test their

implementation, we are sure to raise the standard of all trade union activity and to meet the expectations of our members.

Only then shall we fulfill the directive of the Ninth Congress of All Trade Unions: "All forces of trade unions for the fulfillment of the objectives of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ--for a happy life of the working people."

9004

CSO: 2400



PHILOSOPHY OF IMPRISONED POET JIRI GRUSA

Munich SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 13 Jul 78 p 8

[Article by Werner Paul: "The Poet As Prisoner"]

[Text] News arriving from Prague is causing apprehension that the activities of the circle of independent Czech authors--which has published, in duplicate, more than 130 works in circulation to date--will be noticeably impeded or even rendered totally impossible over the series of manuscripts called "Petlice" [Padlock]. Symptomatic of this situation is the case of the poet Jiri Grusa who has spent the last 2 months in prison for interrogation.

Jiri Grusa, born in 1938, made his debut in the 1960's as a lyrical poet. He belonged to those young writers who--according to his study "This and the Other Side of Lock and Padlock" -- "entered the so-called socialist literature, educated by the socialist school of a country where according to official proclamation socialism has become reality." They were representatives of the first generation of those "children" who were supposed to experience socialism as a reality. "One tried to excuse oneself while taking credit for lives, fates and blood by appealing to their future happiness. They were expected to be overfilled with gratefulness, non-bourgeois solidarity, to fulfill or even to surpass all resolutions by so-called concrete deeds and masterworks." They did not do it: In agreement with developments, they left the prescribed models and they sought inspiration in Czech literature in its autonomous totality.

It is striking how often and how demonstratively Grusa uses--in the mentioned article--the phrase "so-called." Here, apparently, the key to his position may be found. He and other people of his age were moved by totally different forces than their colleagues Kundera, Klima, Sotola, Kohout, Vaculik, etc., who are 6-8 years older. They did not need "to catch their own deed" (Kundera), their program--and problem--was to separate themselves from the so-called world. This was not accomplished by criticism, but by appropriation of a new approach which--according to Grusa--made it possible to make the true, "not-to-be taken-for-granted" world visible, simultaneously revealing the so-called world as a so-called one.

In the first place, this program manifested itself as a vote for poetry and against politics. This can be more easily understood, keeping in mind that politics of that time were identical with terror, pressure and manipulation. But many members of this literary generation did not change their vote in 1968. They reacted with restraint to that period, lyrically known as Prague Spring. "I was sceptical at that time," declared Jiri Grusa in a conversation with Jiri Lederer in 1975. "One spoke of a process of regeneration. But the truth is that many things of almost continental magnitude had to be generated rather than regenerated."

In Grusa's opinion the collapse of the reform attempt of 1968 cannot be considered the result of the August invasion. Rather it was the "exaggerated ideologization of practical political targets" which existed in the Czechoslovak camp, "laming all practical activity."

Accordingly, it is understandable why Grusa--although among the authors condemned over "Petlice"--did not sign Charter 77. Apparently Grusa considers all sensational extra-literary deeds problematical, because they might once more lead to an "exaggerated ideologization" within one's own ranks and thus to unnecessary conflicts with an inflexible regime. He formulated his program conception in his conversation with Lederer: "In spite of the pseudorelations given by the pathogenetic scheme, one should try to develop human and trustworthy relationships based on daily deeds or--speaking with Masaryk--to regain a feeling of shelter and security by means of unimportant work."

This way "experience of trustworthy humanity" could be developed and an opportunity is even given to realize oneself, an endeavor practically impossible in the "pathogenetic sphere." Is this an anti-ideological utopia which finally has to reenforce "the exaggerated ideologization," provided that it goes to pieces while colliding with reality? Nevertheless, this microclimate of humanity and a whole independent spiritual structure were existent in contemporary Bohemia--and still are. The problem is to be found in the total incapacity of maneuvering on the regime's part. The government either ignores this independent structure or seeks to confront it in order to find a final solution for a problem which allegedly does not exist at all.

Grusa wanted to avoid it and he was not alone. (Ivan Klima: "Finally the fact that in this country true works and not only protest letters are generated will decide.") Should evidence be needed that no one can speak of opportunism, then Grusa delivered it when he voluntarily "descended" among the condemned ones. Krejca's Theater Behind the Gate staged "Antigone" in a new translation by Grusa only in 1971. Then this theater was closed and Grusa voluntarily gave up any type of "literary profession." He supported himself as an advertising man, enterprise psychologist, construction foreman and finally as a "factotum for complaints and suggestions." The reason? Only this way could he write the way he wanted to. Also he was steadily trying to separate himself from the so-called world.

It would be possible to describe his literary program as total literature. "Do you ask what I would like to write? It should be like a prayer or a magic formula with its powerful word which opens everything, with all the gaiety of light literature, all the tension of a mystery, the attraction of trash, equally as penetrating as old Dumas in his "Three Musketeers" and as crystal clear as the New Testament..." And he has already almost succeeded with his novel "The Questionnaire" (which is going to be published in German by Reich Verlag, Lucerne) and which is one of the most remarkable works of the Padlock series and of all of modern Czech literature.

Jiri Grusa is now imprisoned and is forced to sign Charter 77. The regime wants to demonstrate that it is quite able to make "a literature further claiming its own relationship to a not-to-be-taken-for-granted-world" (Grusa) a "subject to repression." It is not yet possible to say whether he was arrested only because of his novel, or whether his collaboration with the Padlock series might aggravate his situation. Only one thing seems to be rather certain: in the heart of Europe another trial against poetry is in preparation.

CSO: 2300

COUNTERFEIT HARD CURRENCY SPREADS IN CSSR

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 1 Jul 78 p 5

[Article by V. Hudak: "Counterfeiters Are Looking For a Market Even in Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] A woman worker in the bank needed only to glance at the foreign currency submitted to her. The currency was counterfeit! The man on the other side of the partition wall did not notice that she was disturbed. She said: "Just a moment, please. It will be taken care of right away."

In the adjacent room, the manager needed to hear only one word. They called the security organ. The woman worker returned to her place, and delayed payment for a while. It was enough for members of the Public Security of the Municipal Administration in Bratislava to arrive at the place and arrest the man who presented the counterfeit currency.

The man is surprised, he does not know what it is about. The case is taken over by experts from the Department for Economic Criminality of the Ministry of Interior of the SSR. The interrogation is exactly the same as the previous ones. Except for some details. The man bought the \$100 bills from a friend-- a waiter--in a well-known recreation center in the High Tatras for 5,000. He wanted to buy something "better" in Tuzex and give a surprise at home. Instead of happiness, there are now worries. Prosecution for violation of the law on foreign exchange, and--naturally--loss of 5,000 korunas, because in such cases, according to the law, there is no compensation for the loss. The following days are not easy for the criminal experts. A few hours later, their colleagues listen to the waiter. He offered the banknotes cheap. Why then should not one make a good deal? "I swear, comrades, I did not know that they were counterfeit banknotes."

The investigator asks the following question, even though in his mind he knows what the answer will be: "Did the question not occur to you why the man did not change the banknotes in an exchange office at a more advantageous rate?" He got the answer usual in such cases. The vision of an easy gain without work prevailed over sober thinking. The case is continued. For understandable reasons, it is not desirable to give details.

## Distributors of Flowers

In the slang of the underworld, the term flower distributor is a nickname for people who put counterfeit currency into circulation. Czech criminal experts have been encountering the results of their work, particularly during the last 10 years. This is related to the fact that travel restrictions have been canceled, because under the guise of tourism counterfeiters have expanded their trade even to socialist states. They figure first of all--and unfortunately they are not always wrong--on a certain amount of petty-bourgeois mentality and hunt for easy gain among some Czechoslovak citizens.

Naturally, they are also divided into specialists, who work with almost perfect counterfeit currency, and amateurs, such as in the case mentioned above. While the first ones dare to enter exchange offices carrying counterfeit banknotes--but they do not like taking chances--the others know that they would not do well in dealing with someone who is just a little familiar with foreign currencies. In order to clarify this, one has to explain certain details concerning counterfeit currency.

The international scale makes a distinction between five grades of counterfeit banknotes: 1--very dangerous, 2--dangerous, 3--successful, 4--less successful, 5--unskilled. Professional opinions are prepared by experts from the Currency Testing Laboratory of the Czechoslovak State Bank in Prague, who have at their disposal information from a special bulletin published by Interpol and containing lists of all known variations of counterfeit currency with detailed legends. Eighty percent of counterfeit currency confiscated within the territory of Czechoslovakia can be classified as grade three. The remaining 20 percent are classified approximately in the same amounts above and below that grade. The present case involved a relatively primitive counterfeit method--the change of a \$1 banknote to a \$100 banknote. The figure 1 in the corner was removed chemically and converted to 100. In the same way, the counterfeiter replaced the word "ONE" in all places with "USA." However, they did not even take the trouble of at least changing the name under the portrait of President Washington. One should emphasize at this point that there are also cases where the portrait of Washington may have been left unchanged, but the counterfeiters at least changed the name to Franklin, in other words, the name of the president whose portrait is given on a genuine \$100. They count on the fact that most people do not recognize these statesmen. One could mention many other differences, but that is unnecessary, because such a counterfeit banknote has not the slightest chance to pass unnoticed through the hands of workers who handle currencies. The situation is different with regard to 100-mark banknotes, which are offered in Czechoslovakia by the distributors of flowers. The most characteristic distinguishing mark showing whether one is dealing with a counterfeit banknote or a genuine one is the protective metal belt of the original. The counterfeiters replace it with a dark line. It can be determined by touch, but

the currency which is offered is often cracked precisely at that place, and as a result a layman is unable to identify it. Naturally, many other differences appear when the counterfeit banknote is placed in the hands of specialists and examined by means of modern instruments.

### Professionals

Almost 900 counterfeit banknotes were confiscated last year in Czechoslovakia. They were mostly dollars and marks, which are now deposited in the collection of comparative material at the Czechoslovak State Bank. In addition to the highly primitive counterfeit bank notes mentioned above, there also appeared products which can be considered as artistic, where the differences could be identified only by experts. The production of such counterfeit currency, particularly the procurement of materials and equipment, is relatively costly, regardless of whether it involves the use of deep-press (typography or phototypography made of copper), or flat-press (lithography, photolithography, or offset). However, that does not stop the gangs of counterfeiters. On the contrary, it is precisely this great variety of manufacturing facilities and outstanding printing technology, including, naturally, the skill of master engravers, which is the reason why it is not a problem for them to produce counterfeited currency which is almost perfect. Well, one must say that in Czechoslovakia the going is not so easy for them even with such facilities. On the contrary, thanks to prompt interventions by security organs, they are confronted in their distribution with increasingly greater difficulties.

The Czechoslovak State Bank has not yet let pass through its fingers any skillfully made counterfeit currency, and even though the public security organs were often forced to discontinue prosecution of the border of the republic, the prosecution continued through other organizations. Opinions of Czechoslovak experts were sent to foreign countries where they helped in further search for counterfeiters. Naturally, every discovery of a workshop of this type makes Czechoslovak security organs happy. The workers of the Department of Economic Criminality gave us the opportunity of taking a look at one of the opinions of experts at the bank.

Sender: Currency testing laboratory of the Czechoslovak State Bank. Value: 100 American dollars. Type: Federal Reserve Note, Series 1969. Federal Bank: Cleveland, Serial Number D 06671745 A. Control letter: E. Confiscated by: Czechoslovak State Bank, branch office in Bratislava City. Presented by: an Italian citizen. Front side: block print, the portrait lacks fine lines on the forehead close below the hair. Internal accompanying line of letter C in word AMERICA is disconnected in the upper part. At the top left of letter A in LEGAL there is a small black dot. The serial number and seat of the treasury are also printed by a block. The letter A in the word TREASURY in the seal is deformed.

Reverse: Block print. The hatching in the windows and in the shaded parts of the building is partly covered with green color. The external accompanying

line of the black picture above the number 1 of the upper right designation of the value of the banknote is interrupted.

Description given in materials of Interpol as a variation in the indication of 12 A 6076. The characteristic markings are identical. It is classified as grade 2--dangerous in the danger scale.

#### Why Dollars?

According to data received from Interpol, American currency is counterfeited most often--85 percent of counterfeit banknotes. From 1947 to 1971 there have been registered in the world 3,800 types of counterfeit currency. The American dollar is attractive for counterfeiters from several points of view. In the first place, because for many years it belonged to the group of the hardest world currencies. And also because it is relatively easy to counterfeit because the color, paper, and format of the banknote in the value from 1 to 1,000 are the same. Of course, one can object by asking why the American issuing banks do not do anything about it, since they have known about it for a long time. However, there is an argument at hand which is difficult to disprove. Regardless what is changed, counterfeiters speedily adapt to the situation thanks to outstanding modern technology and the great financial capital which they undoubtedly have at their disposal. The only way in the world, a world which has been "reduced" considerably thanks to aviation, is close international cooperation. Interpol has been prosecuting counterfeiters for a long time, bitter to say counterfeiters have been prosecuted through Interpol for a long time, and at the same time Interpol cooperates with states which are not its members, because counterfeiting affects not only the economy of the country whose currency is being manufactured privately, it also affects countries where the counterfeit currency is found. And the counterfeiters and distributors of counterfeit currency are not idle, either. They take advantage of opportunities for faster transportation and various other methods which change depending on the situation in the given country. For example, in Czechoslovakia, counterfeiters try above all to use counterfeit currency for making payments in hotels, bars, and car repair stations, in addition to offering counterfeit currency in front of Tuzex stores or in front of banks, where they manage to disappear quickly after they have made a successful deal. Naturally, when the "poor" foreigner pays for a small bill or a repair with foreign currency which he has earned by "hard work" he wants to get the balance in Czechoslovak korunas. And he is often magnanimous, you must say. He sets the rate of exchange way below the price which he would get by making the change properly in advance. Naturally, the car breaks down precisely at the time when the banks are closed, and the payments made in a bar do not take place at the time when exchange offices have their office hours.

## In Spite of Appeals

Some information from reports released by the Public Security and published in the press.

--A woman citizen bought near Tuzex in Bratislava 36 banknotes for 100 marks each, for which she paid 36,000 korunas. They were all counterfeit.

--Near a Tuzex store in Kosice, an elderly lady bought two \$100 banknotes, and when she wanted to change them, it was found that they were counterfeit. On the same day, another citizen bought a \$100 banknote in the parking lot at Star, Smokovec from an unknown foreigner. When the currency was changed in an exchange office of the Czechoslovak State Bank in Poprad, it was found that the banknote was counterfeit.

--Members of Public Security in Prievidze found that 32-year old Julius H. from Komarno tried to sell a counterfeit American banknote for 2,500 korunas. He claimed that the purchased \$1 banknote was "retouched" as a \$100 banknote. He found out about it too late, and so he realized on the idea that some other purchaser would be just as careless as he was, and that he would manage to sell the banknote.

Members of Public Security warned the citizens a number of times in the press, in radio and television about the appearance of counterfeit foreign currencies. Naturally, the value of such currencies is equal only to the price of the paper on which they are printed. Unfortunately, many people have not learned their lesson or at least they do not want to learn. The idea of getting dollars or marks or other currencies at low cost, the possibility of showing off before their neighbor that they were able to purchase goods in Tuzex result often not only in the loss of a considerable amount of money, but also in conflict with the law. Not to speak of the difficulties and embarrassment caused to the state by those who wanted to have a better vacation in some neighboring country.

5668

CSO: 2400



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### DEVELOPMENT OF MULTIPLE ROCKET LAUNCHERS DISCUSSED

Prague ATOM in Czech No 5, 1978 pp 12-13

[Article by Dr Vladimir Karlicky: "A Success of Czechoslovak Industry, the VZ 51 Rocket Launcher"]

[Text] We regard rocket launchers as a common type of artillery weapon, an inseparable part of the armament for ground troops. But it was only during World War II that this highly effective weapon was first used. And not because the very principle of utilizing the rocket's thrust had perhaps been unknown until then. To the contrary, gunpowder in the Middle Ages was used in all probability specifically in rockets; firearms came only later, and their greater effectiveness and accuracy swept rockets to the margin of the troops' materiel, primarily for signaling. Only at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century did it again appear that rockets, thanks particularly to their light weight and mobility, could be employed and could perhaps surpass field cannon in importance. But in the second half of the 19th century their occurred profound design changes that led to new cannon, now termed cannon in the classical sense, with substantially greater effect and better performance. Rockets as then designed were unable to hold their ground in this competition and disappeared completely from the arsenal. Only the further development of the natural and technical sciences between the two world wars created the prerequisites for a change.

Soviet scientists and designers helped write the new, revolutionary chapter in the history of artillery weapons. They started out from the experience of the Civil War in Soviet Russia which, in contrast to the experience of World War I, underscored the need to significantly increase the mobility of the artillery. Specifically the rocket engine, known from the works of Tsiolkovskiy, offered the only possibility of avoiding recoil during firing, i.e., of not tying the design to a heavy mount that had a recoil mechanism. This of course was a novel, pioneering path, full of difficulties and unsolved problems. But the systematic nature and purposefulness of Soviet research bore fruit. The world's first rocket shell was designed in 1927 (its caliber was 82 mm).

Just before the 1940's, a new idea emerged in the Soviet Union: to utilize for the fire support of ground troops rocket-launching artillery weapons capable of firing salvos. Much effort was required before the prototype of the first field multiple rocket launcher could be built and successfully

tested in June 1939. There followed demanding military trials that again were successful. On 21 June 1941, literally on the eve of Nazi Germany's attack against the Soviet Union, the new weapon was presented to a party and government commission that resolved on the spot to start series production immediately and to develop a rocket-launching field artillery.

In the first weeks of the war, at 1515 on 14 July 1941, the first rocket-launching battery started its first attack at the Belorussian town of Orsha, opening thereby a new era in the development of artillery. From then on the "guards mortars," as the rocket launchers were called during the war, comprised an inseparable part of all Soviet Army operations. The number of batteries increased, to about 1500 at the end of the war. The Soviet soldier affectionately nicknamed the new weapon "Katyusha," whereas the fascists called it "Stalin organ," a significant designation because it often accompanied them literally on their last journey. The Soviet rocket-launching artillery was perfected constantly during the war; new, more-effective types appeared, and their combat characteristics improved. The Soviet rocket-launching artillery immediately became also the stimulus and model for imitation in other armies. Hitler's Wehrmacht was the first to react. It devoted exceptional attention to the development and use of rocket launchers, but it never attained the fire power and effectiveness of the Soviet launchers. From 1942 on, field rocket launchers were developed also in the United States. Mostly they were used toward the end of the war, in the Pacific Theater. But the American rocket launchers were unable to compete with the Soviet ones in terms of their characteristics.

Thus in 1945 there were many reasons for our developed armament industry to consider the potential of the new weapons and to devote itself to their development. This occurred under conditions basically different from the pre-war conditions in bourgeois Czechoslovakia. Our country started to fulfill the Kosice Government Program, the armament industry was nationalized, and the Czechoslovak Army was being built on the new principles of people's democracy, in alliance with the Soviet Union. All this significantly influenced also the development of new artillery ordnance in Czechoslovakia, creating favorable conditions for it. The restrictions of ruthless competition customary in the capitalist armament industry disappeared, and development proceeded in an agreed division of labor and with the constant cooperation of a total of three locations: the Skoda Works National Enterprise, where development was the most extensive; the Czechoslovak Munitions Works National Enterprise; and also the Institute of Military Technology, which devoted attention also to liquid-fueled rockets. But the investigated program was intolerably broad; the limited professional manpower was dissipated, and there were some unnecessary duplications. At the same time the set tasks were exceptionally demanding, because for our technicians this was an entirely new and unexplored field that often concealed technical pitfalls. It is a known fact that during the occupation the Nazis engaged in rocket development also on our territory. The Pribram work station, under SS sponsorship, was one of the largest, but its scientific and mostly pseudoscientific activity took place in isolation from the Czech environment. Thus there was nothing to tie in with after the liberation. Over the years some of the development tasks that proved unsuccessful or

unpromising were dropped. The most effort was devoted to the key question of stabilizing the rocket projectiles in flight. Both feasible methods of stabilization were tested: with stabilising fins (the 105-mm Skoda arrow rocket) and by spin (the 90-, 130- and 210-mm Skoda rockets, and the 80-mm ZB [Munitions Plants] rocket). Of basic importance was the question of a suitable powder charge that could ensure readily controllable combustion even at high performance. Also interesting is the wide range of considered tactical applications. Simultaneously the Skoda Works designed also launchers for every caliber that came into consideration. These were either field launchers on a two-wheel cart with a folding mount (the RK series, i.e., on wheels), or launchers mounted on a truck (RV series) or track vehicle (RP series).

The MNO [Ministry of National Defense] did not set any time limits for the development of the rocket launchers; mostly the plants themselves determined what emphasis they placed on development. This situation changed in 1949 when, under the influence of world imperialism, international tension increased and Czechoslovakia's western border was threatened directly. Therefore also the Ministry of National Defense adopted various measures to simplify the investigated program and to concentrate manpower and resources on the promising types. By the autumn of 1949 the ministry designated the types that were the most advanced and it concentrated effort on perfecting and completing the 130- and 210-mm Skoda rockets that were similar in their concept. The prototype of the 130-mm rocket was completed at the end of 1949; and the prototype of the 210-mm rocket, one year later. Successful trials revealed only the need to reinforce the mounts.

Under the influence of the conditions that prevailed in Czechoslovakia before February 1948, both rocket launchers were developed without fulfilling the Kosice Government Program's requirement to unify our armament with that of the Soviet Union. This was also the reason why the new defense minister halted further work in May 1950. But finally the reasons prevailed in favor of the new weapons that indisputably had outstanding qualities and could significantly increase the combat readiness of our army. A contributing factor was also the unambiguously favorable evaluation by Soviet organs. At a conference in July 1950 they said: "This is a beautiful weapon. It must be retained definitely. The Americans do not have such a weapon." Simultaneously the basic question was raised of how to use the new rocket launcher in the field. A towed mount on a two-wheel chassis, which incidentally had already failed the Germans during the war, was considered the least suitable. Only the OT 810 armored halftrack carrier (nicknamed the Hook) was available for track mounting, but it was relatively slow and could not carry a supply of rockets. The outstanding Soviet experience during the war, and the fact that the Studebaker used in the prototype trials gave the best results, spoke in favor of using a cross-country truck. This decided the issue, and the launcher was mounted on the latest product of the Czechoslovak automobile industry, the Praga V3S cross-country truck, with a double caisson and place for the crew. In this form the 130-mm RV 2 rocket launcher was included in the armament of the Czechoslovak People's Army as model 51.

Development was thus completed successfully, with significant improvements over the original design characteristics. The weight of a rocket shell increased from 21.2 to only 24.2 kg, producing a greater effect at the target. But simultaneously the highest projectile velocity rose from 320 to 410 m/sec, which increased the maximum range from 6800 to 8200 m. Likewise important was the increase of the azimuth range from  $\pm 90$  to  $\pm 120^\circ$ . Decisive was the fact that the resultant overall weight, including the truck, increased only insignificantly, by 500 kg to 8,512 kg. Introduction of the 210-mm rocket launcher was abandoned. Its resultant characteristics would not appear to differ significantly from those of the 130-mm rocket launcher and would not have warranted the duplication of armament and the complications in the production and supply of ammunition.

With the VZ 51 rocket launcher our artillery received an outstanding weapon that meets the top world level, just when the need for such a weapon was the greatest. Proof of this is also its wide application abroad. It combined very fortunately its decisive characteristics: enormous fire power with exceptionally high tactical and firing mobility, and with the simplicity of production and servicing.

The significance of the new weapon in the armament of the Czechoslovak People's Army and of the other allied armies becomes especially pronounced if we consider that rocket launchers disappeared specifically in the 1950's from the armament of the NATO armies; rocket launchers were regarded as superfluous in the case of a nuclear war. Only when it became evident that war is not necessarily waged with nuclear weapons, NATO suddenly lacked an artillery weapon capable of effectively destroying two-dimensional targets without a nuclear warhead. And thus in the 1960's the NATO countries strated intensively to develop rocket launchers and to introduce them in their armament at an accelerated rate. However, the socialist countries' lead remains unthreatened.

#### Some Tactical and Technical Data

Rocket caliber	130.2 mm
Rocket projectors	32
Weight: Weapon itself without shells	1618 kg
Complete weight with full caissons	8512 kg
Rocket shell	24.2 kg
Highest projectile velocity	410 m/sec
Maximum range	8200 m
Azimuth	$\pm 120^\circ$
Elevation: Over cab	+12 to +50°
Away from cab	0 to +50°

#### PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 13. Rocket-launching unit takes up firing position.
2. p 13. Salvos from rocket-launching battery.

3. p 13. Loading the rocket launcher: 1 - rocket projector rack; 2 - rocket projectors; 3 - firing arm that conducts current from a battery to the rocket's igniter screw; 4 - azimuth wheels; 5 - elevation wheels; 6 - counterweights; 7 - sight brackets; 8 - sight; 9 - rocket caisson (one salvo on each side of truck); 10 - Prage V3S truck.

1014

CSO: 2400

## RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT ASSESSED

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 11 No 27, 1978 signed to press 26 Jun 78 pp 6-7

/Article by Alfred Marter, deputy chief, International Relations Department, SED Central Committee: "Two Years After the Berlin Conference -- Under the Banner of the Joint Struggle for Peace and Progress"7

/Text/ The conference of the European communist and labor parties that took place in our city on 29 and 30 June 1976, which has since then become firmly established as the "Berlin Conference," was held out of a joint realization on the part of the European fraternal parties that peace, security, cooperation and social progress represent the principal problems of the future.

The major goals in the document that was worked out democratically and accepted unanimously by the 29 participating communist and labor parties correspond to the interests of all nations. Their realization will be an important contribution to freedom, national independence, democracy and socialism all over the world.

The past two years emphatically confirm that the platform of action contained in the document is adequate to the demands of a phase of the struggle planned for a long-term view. It contains a long-term orientation based on the common experience and obligations of the communist and labor parties of our continent. The conference reflected the upswing in the communist movement and its growing world political influence. It continues to exert a mobilizing effect on the struggle of the communists and all the powers interested in peace. Hence, the conference of the European communist and labor parties was an event in the life of the communist movement, the great significance of which has already been evident in numerous ways in the recent past. It represented an extremely important joint action of the European communists and contributed significantly to consolidation of unity of action and strengthening the cooperation of the communist and labor parties.

## Repeated Confirmation of Conclusions

The conclusions drawn at the conference on the basis of the European situation and developmental tendencies have been confirmed in practice. The action goals worked out jointly have not become obsolete. They correspond to current necessities and possibilities for the struggle and to the interests and desires of broad political and social forces in the European countries.

According to the document, "the participants in the conference esteemed the progress made in the area of detente. At the same time they emphasize that world peace is definitely not yet guaranteed, that detente is not yet stable and that there are still serious impediments on the way to lasting security and cooperation." The sources of these impediments, the dangers ensuing from the policies of imperialism and neocolonialism, are outlined in the document.

The conference focused the action goals on cessation of the armaments race, realization of effective measures for disarmament and strengthening of security in Europe.

The current nature of this evaluation and establishment of tasks was also very clearly confirmed at the Eighth Plenum of the SED Central Committee. In the Politbureau report, Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, explained the determinant effect of the two interconnected and directly opposing tendencies of current international development -- political detente and world armament. The meeting emphasized that the international dispute regarding the goals of freedom and detente is intensified by the politics of imperialism and that detente is not yet irreversible. It was pointed out that the struggle against the armaments race has become the principal task of all forces interested in freedom and security. This consequence has developed in an intensified manner from recent events and tendencies.

In the United States the aggressive forces making up the military-industrial complex have again gained a greater influence on politics. It cannot be overlooked that, despite verbal espousing of detente, the US is following a line in its current policy which is geared to increasing the armament race and practically to confrontation with socialism, especially the Soviet Union. At nearly 130 billion dollars, the American defense budget has reached a record high. At the same time, the western countries are being mobilized (and not only by the Pentagon but also by Chinese leaders) to upgrade their armament efforts.

This was very clearly shown by the results of the NATO advisory meeting held in Washington on 30-31 May 1978 during the special meeting of the UN General Assembly on disarmament. At the meeting decisions were made for a long-term program of intensified armamentation and the extension of NATO activities to areas outside the alliance, i.e. continuation and intensification of involvement in the internal affairs of other nations. This gives special credence to the conclusions of the 29 fraternal parties as set forth in the conference document, viz. "that there is need for new and active efforts by the communist and labor parties, by all democratic and peace-loving powers, by the general public and the nations of our continent" so that detente becomes a continuous and ever more vital and comprehensive process.

If we review the past two years, numerous constructive suggestions made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, either at UN General Assembly meetings or meetings of international organizations and bilateral and multilateral gatherings and conferences, indicate that the fraternal parties of the socialist nations have made maximum efforts toward realization of the action goals of the conference. These parties including the SED have provided important concrete initiatives and ideas for all the essential goals and tasks formulated in the document. The program for concrete measures for arms limitations suggested at the 18th Komsomol Congress by the Secretary General of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev as well as at the UN special disarmament meeting is of maximum significance. At the Eighth Meeting of the SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker stated "this program has our full approval."

In the spirit of the joint negotiations and the joint goals and interests agreed on at the Berlin Conference, most of the fraternal parties in the European capitalist nations support the suggestions of the socialist countries and enhance them with their own important initiatives. This was clearly expressed at the Party Congresses of the Finnish Communist Party, the Norwegian Communist Party, the Greek Communist Party and the Progressive Party of Cypriot Workers (AKEL), which were held during the first half of 1978, as well as in numerous visits and gatherings of the fraternal parties.

#### Broad Front Against Neutron Bomb

Communication and cooperation with the broadest possible range of political and social forces is of growing importance to strengthening of security and collaboration in Europe. Notable results were achieved in the struggle against the most dangerous measure



for intensification of the armament race, i.e. the production of the neutron bomb planned by the US. In this connection, mention should be made of the joint appeal against the neutron bomb by 28 fraternal parties in August 1977. This initiative contributed to realization of the associated danger and activation of the movement. The International Forum Against The Neutron Bomb, which was held in Amsterdam this March, was of great importance and lasting influence. This Forum with 223 official delegations from 28 countries and West Berlin, the proclamation with more than 10,000 participants and the demonstration with 50,000 participants have to date constituted the largest manifestation against the neutron bomb and the armament race in a NATO country. This large joint action on the part of communists, Christians, social democrats and representatives of various political directions and social strata provided a great impetus to the movement in other western European countries as well. This could not be ignored by the governments and parliaments.

Increasing possibilities and new aspects for cooperation between communists and social democrats were reflected at the disarmament conference of the Socialist International, which took place in Helsinki on 24-26 April 1978 upon the suggestion of the Finnish Social Democratic Party. It was the first time that an official representative of a socialist country and a communist party had participated in a meeting of the Socialist International. There was great interest in the concrete and constructive suggestions made by Boris Ponomarev a candidate of the Politbureau of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, and they constituted an important initiative in the sense of the Berlin Conference.

#### Intensification of Exchange of Opinions and Experience

One of the most important conclusions reached by the participants of the Berlin Conference was that, in the interest of creating a Europe characterized by peace, cooperation and social progress, "their internationalistic, comradely and voluntary cooperation and solidarity would be developed on the basis of the major ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin....." In this connection, they strengthened the fundamentally democratic and internationalist principles underlying their cooperation. The increase and intensification of the exchange of opinions and information among the predominant majority of the fraternal parties in the past two years clearly shows the stimulating effect of the conference and the endeavor of the individual parties to make a contribution appropriate to their position and possibilities. These questions occupy a prominent place

in the international activity of the SED. The Politbureau report to the Eighth Congress of the Central Committee confirmed: "We strive for constant strengthening of the internationalistic cooperation of the fraternal parties in the common interest of socialism and peace. We are concomitantly contributing to realization of the Berlin Conference document and strengthening solidarity in our struggle for the goals of action unanimously agreed upon in Berlin."

Our party devotes much attention to consolidating ties with the fraternal parties of the European capitalist countries. In the first half of 1978 alone, visits were made to the GDR by the Secretaries General of the Portuguese communist party and the British Communist Party, Alvaro Cunhal and Gordon McLennan, and the Chairmen of the Norwegian and Austrian communist parties, Martin Gunnar Knutsen and Franz Muhri, all of whom headed party delegations. Leading representatives of the Italian Communist Party and the Swiss Labor Party visited here for an exchange of views.

At the party congresses of the Swedish Left Party Communists, the Spanish Communist Party, the Norwegian Communist Party, the Swiss Labor Party, the Progressive Party of Cypriot Workers (AKEL), the Greek Communist Party and the Finnish Communist party, delegations from our party learned more about the campaign conditions of the fraternal parties and their strategy and tactics. A central point of the open and comradely talks held on these and other occasions was continued joint work for realization of the goals and assignments of the Berlin Conference. This was expressed in joint communiqués, reports and declarations.

In accordance with the principles for the international policy of the SED decided on at the Ninth Party Congress and in concurrence with the orientation of the conference document, the SED is focussing great attention on relationships with socialist and social democratic parties in the interest of the joint struggle for freedom, detente, disarmament and cooperation. There are important common interests here with the Finnish Social Democratic Party. In the joint communique issued on the occasion of a visit of an SED delegation in Finland in November 1976, it was stated: "The SED and the Finnish social Democratic Party emphasized the great significance of the contacts and cooperation among communist, social democratic and socialist parties. They underlined their conviction that, despite ideological differences, cooperation among various segments of the international labor movement is possible and necessary in order to make Europe into a continent of stable peace and social progress." The Finnish Social Democratic Party declared that the predisposition indicated at the Berlin Con-

ference created favorable possibilities for the development of such cooperation. The existing relationships were further strengthened by the visit of a delegation of the Finnish Social Democratic Party headed by Secretary General Ulf Sundqvist in May 1978.

The constructive and continuous cooperation with the Belgian Socialist Party -- to mention a further example -- is also based on concurrent interpretations of important basic questions. In a joint communication on talks held in December 1976, it is stated that: "The ensurance of peace and security affects the vital interests of broadest social layers and makes possible consolidation of cooperation among all the forces of peace and progress that are actively contributing to the concrete realization of detente. In this regard, both delegations appreciate the full significance of the positive results of the Berlin Conference of European communist and labor parties."

#### Goals of Imperialist Counter-Strategy

With its direct threats and involvement, its massive use of political and economic pressure and intensification of ideological attacks, the monopolistic bourgeoisie is in its manner providing confirmation of the consolidation and strengthening of the positions of our movement and its future progress.

In his counter-strategy, the opponent is making use of Maoism and anarchism as antirevolutionary trends, setting up nationalism and attempting to use the "Eurocommunism" propagated in a forced manner by the bourgeois mass media as a divisive element. This is intended to distort the attitude of the fraternal parties vis-a-vis the tasks of the joint struggle and set them up against each other. This plan is aimed not only at the demobilization and weakening of the revolutionary labor movement; it is also directed against Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and against the unified theoretical basis of the joint struggle of all Marxist-Leninist parties and their unity of action. We shall mention only one example from among the numerous activities:

Four aspects of pressure exertion on the communist parties were clearly formulated at a seminar of the Atlantic Pact Association held in Lisbon on 26-28 May 1978:

- Independence from the Soviet Union, i.e. establishing distance from the chief power of peace and progress;
- Assumption of so-called democratic pluralism, i.e. assignment of class positions in problems of freedom and democracy;

- Assumption of the Western European integration project, i.e. integration in the interest of monopolistic capitalism;
- Internal democratization of the party, i.e. assignment of democratic centralism.

The dangers associated with the machinations of imperialism must not be underestimated. This is illustrated e.g. in the fact that the discussions and arguments in the French Communist Party were massively used by the bourgeois mass media to become involved and launch opportunistic attacks against the party. A much talked about reflection of this is the place accorded to the statements of Jean Elleinstein (cf. article "Zurück zu Eduard Bernstein?" /Back to Eduard Bernstein?/ in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND of 2 June 1978).

However, the requirements of the practical struggle confirm that only creative utilization of Marxism-Leninism leads the way for the further construction of socialism and communism and for the successful campaign for social progress in the capitalist countries. In this sense, communist and labor parties defend Marxism-Leninism as a unified doctrine for the revolutionary working class and decisively reject attempts to deny the topicality of Leninism for the struggle in our time.

It is of the utmost importance for precisely this reason that striving for cooperation among the parties and for joint discussion of newly arisen problems dominates. In the past two years, the fraternal parties of the socialist and capitalist countries have reviewed current theoretical problems on various levels and in many forms and drawn important conclusions for politics and the continued struggle.

Celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution impressively demonstrated the great power, the close unity, and the joint interests and goals of the communists in Europe and all over the world.

#### Struggle Against Fascism and Reaction -- Important Task

The most recent development in the international class struggle confirms the following as one of the most important experiences of the communist movement: Growth of the revolutionary forces also results in intensification of the activities of the reaction. The results achieved in implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence and consolidation of international detente create more favorable international conditions for the peoples' struggle for social progress. However, they do not automatically bring

about new results since imperialism does not alter its ways and attempts with intensified anticommunism and defamatory campaigns against socialist countries to impede detente and social progress. In this connection, imperialistic policy and the major-power chauvinism policy of the Chinese leaders work together. Deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the special nature of the interlacing of elements of the general crisis with those of the cyclical crisis emphasize the objective need for basic alterations and expand the political and social basis of the struggle. A reflection of these processes are the tendencies to the left in Italy and France, the battle for security and broadening of democratic rights and achievements in Portugal and Greece and the important part played by the Finnish Communist Party in the life of the country.

Many fraternal parties in the capitalist countries have made further progress in working out a true alternative policy and they connect the struggle for the workers' daily interests with perspectives of the struggle for socialism. To some extent, they were able to achieve a considerable strengthening of their party ranks and an enlargement of the mass influence. As a counter-reaction, the reactionary forces intensified authoritarian law tendencies; openly fascist elements are significantly forcing their dangerous activities and showing themselves in an increasingly impudent manner. Manifestations of this type occurred in Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain, and Great Britain, but especially in West Germany, as shown only too clearly by the fascist demonstration of 17 June 1978 in Frankfurt (Main). Particularly in view of these tendencies which must be taken seriously, it is appropriate to recall the following passage from the conference document: "For democracy and social progress, for maintenance of peace and international relations of mutual trust and cordial cooperation, it is necessary to exterminate fascism, to prevent its re-emergence in overt or covert form and to combat the organization and activity of fascist and neo-fascist terrorist organizations and groups as well as racist propaganda and activities that aim to divide the working class and other progressive forces."

The Berlin Conference was a regional advisory council which dealt primarily with European problems, with evaluation of the new situation in Europe following Helsinki and with the procedures necessary to convert the Helsinki decisions into fact via the struggle of the nations. However, it would not be entirely valid to limit the significance of this conference to the European scene. The conference served for strengthening of the international cooperation of the parties and reflected the very deep internationalist character of the communist movement.

### Further Results Via New Joint Action

It has been confirmed by two more years of daily struggle: Internationalist cooperation, and association of national and international responsibility are a source of power and guarantee of further results in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

The conference made a creative contribution to the joint activity of the European communists in line with the conditions of our time, which are characterized by increasing internationalization and growing common tasks, on the one hand, and expansion of the influence of the revolutionary forces, of the communist parties, by complex conditions and new problems, on the other. This contribution continues to be effective, which is all the more important since the opponent has tried and is trying to deny precisely this effect of the Berlin Conference.

The European communists declared their solidarity with the struggle of the nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America for freedom and independence and for fairer international economic relations. In view of the upswing in the anti-imperialist battle in many countries of this hemisphere, especially Africa, and the brutal and open neo-colonialist attacks of imperialism, strengthening of solidarity between the revolutionary democratic and national democratic movements and socialism and the international working class is a primary task.

On the second anniversary of the Berlin Conference, the results of the socialist countries, the national liberation movement and the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries confirm that the communist movement represents the most influential political force of the present time. The most urgent task in the further implementation of the conference goals is the organization of the joint and coordinated actions of the parties for the current tasks in the battle for peace, especially disarmament.

As it has done in the past, the SED will continue to make an active contribution in accordance with the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress.

7072

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

POSITION OF CHURCHES, CDU ON MILITARY TRAINING STATED

Protestant League Guidelines

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 29 Jun 78 p 14

[FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU editorial note: The plans of the GDR Government to introduce the subject of military training for 9th and 10th grade students at general polytechnical secondary schools have caused concern among the GDR churches. A "Word to the Communities" was read out in the Protestant churches last Sunday. In addition, the League of Protestant Churches of the GDR has issued "guidelines" for the communities. The text of these guidelines is given below.]

[Text] In the past few months, increasing concern has been spreading in our communities about a government measure which at first became known from hearsay--the introduction of military instruction in the ninth grade of general polytechnical secondary schools. Members of communities turned to church officeholders with an urgent desire for information and advice and with the clear request to take a stand against the implementation of such a plan. The Conference of Protestant Church Administrations in the GDR also received a number of requests along these lines.

In this situation the Conference of Protestant Church Administrations turned to the GDR Government for exact information in this matter, expressed reservations and objections and asked the government offices, if such plans did exist, to desist from them.

I. In a detailed oral briefing, the state secretary for church affairs thereupon, on 1 June 1978, informed the chairman of the conference and his deputies, along with the secretariat, about the existing plans concerning the introduction of military instruction, namely:

--Introduction of the subject of military instruction in the ninth grade of general schools as of 1 September 1978, with four 2-hour periods a year being added to the previous schedule of classes. Instruction is obligatory for boys and girls. No provision is made for issuing grades.

--Continuation of theoretical instruction, in the same volume, in the 10th grade.

--Implementation of a complete 2-week course in civil defense in the ninth grade as of 1 September 1978--also obligatory for both girls and boys--5 hours a day, at the end of the school year, without any weapons training.

--Parallel to these civil defense courses, the conducting of 2-week pre-military camps on a voluntary basis, only for boys, with training including the handling of small-caliber arms.

--In the 10th grade, as of 1979, an obligatory 3-day final exercise during winter vacation.

This plan was interpreted and explained in detail by the state secretary for church questions, with the following points being made (also based on further dialog with the church representatives):

--The measure provided for should not be considered and judged in isolation but must be viewed in the overall context of the peace policy of the GDR Government.

--Military instruction and the credibility of the peace policy are interconnected. The stability and defense readiness of the GDR have contributed decisively to maintaining and insuring peace in the center of Europe.

--The introduction of military service is completely in line with GDR laws--article 23 of the constitution, the Law about the Protection of Peace, the Law about the Uniform Socialist Educational System, the Youth Law and the Civil Defense Law.

--No basically new facts are created by the introduction of military instruction. (Cf. the Hans Beimler contests, the GST [Society for Sport and Technology], premilitary training)

--The planned military instruction qualifies Christians for exercising, in practice, love of their fellow man in the case of a catastrophe, for effectively assisting others in civil defense, for self-protection and for first aid.

--All other socialist countries already have obligatory military instruction as part of school instruction and have fared very well with it.

--The desired educational aims are: Discipline, sense of responsibility, activeness and physical fitness.

--The principle of voluntariness in weapon training is insured, but the aim is 10-percent participation.

The church representatives voiced concern and objections against this presentation:



--The question was raised whether a clear orientation toward education for peace can retain priority if one-sided influence is exercised on the formation of the consciousness through increased military education.

--Grave misgivings were voiced concerning the age at which military education is to begin. A danger exists of early fixation on thinking in terms of friend and enemy, and inurement to force as a means of solving conflicts.

--Concern was expressed lest the introduction of obligatory military instruction in schools at this time (of developing measures creating confidence, detente, increased efforts for disarmament) is not bound to be interpreted internationally as an ostentatious action, with the credibility of the GDR peace policy suffering as a result.

--The effectiveness of the profession of peace by Protestant Christians from the GDR is being impaired in the Christian world.

In the event military instruction is introduced in the planned manner, the church representatives stated that they would support those parents and guardians who for reasons of conscience were not in a position to let their children attend this instruction. They expressed their concern lest conscience-dictated nonparticipation in this instruction be interpreted as a sign of political unreliability.

The government listened attentively to the points of view presented by the representatives of the League of Protestant Churches of the GDR on the basis of joint responsibility for peace and the people. There was no indication that the government will desist from the planned instruction. Following a special session on 14 June, the conference once more asked the government to review the planned measure.

II. The misgivings of the conference about the introduction of an obligatory school subject of "socialist military education" were not dispelled by the conversation on 1 June. In view of the pending introduction of this subject on 1 September, 1978, let us, on the basis of the mutual dialog with the communities, parents and young adults, which they presented to us, and on the basis of discussions in consultative and decisionmaking bodies of the league, once more jointly elucidate the situation concerning it:

(1) The peace mission founded in the Gospel demands of the churches and every Christian individual a sober examination of what, in the present world situation--reduces tensions, promotes trust and serves peace. We do not mistake the obligation of the state to protect the security of its citizens and therefore must ask ourselves what makes us truly secure today. A security concept determined by fear and threat, we believe, does not constitute a step toward greater peace, because it leads to actions which likewise create fear on the opposite side and induce counterthreats. Because the planned instruction threatens to become part of this dangerous process, we think it is hardly suited to being a means of insuring peace.

(2) Disarmament is an urgent command of the hour. We see an inseparable relation between the global political efforts for ending the disarmament race and, through education, instilling an informed awareness of the need for disarmament in society. Disarmament will be possible only if it is truly desired and if it is firmly anchored in the thinking of each and every society. We see a danger of obligatory military education of minors leading to inurement to military means of solving conflicts, which over the long term could prove to be an obstacle for instilling a real awareness of the need for disarmament. For the sake of disarmament we need a relationship qualifying people to settle disputes in ways devoid of force.

(3) The peaceability of young people who do not know the horrors of war and are not capable of a sophisticated judgment of the risks of insuring peace in the nuclear age by military means is being seriously jeopardized by the planned instruction, which presupposes as a matter of course the possibility of armed confrontation between East and West. Early education in military thinking, attitudes and norms of behavior in school instruction can lead to the opportunities of peaceful settlement of conflicts no longer being grasped in later years.

(4) The GDR consistently professes its support of the policy of peace and detente. We are afraid that the credibility of this policy abroad will suffer as a result of the introduction of military instruction. The worldwide efforts for the creation of nonmilitary security systems cannot be crowned with success as long as, within the countries, a unilateral aim of military security is pursued in education and training. In our view, the aim of a world without arms, to which socialism is committed, ought to become more clearly evident precisely in the sphere of school education. The Christian world expects representatives of churches in socialist countries to provide concrete assistance and orientation in this.

We realize that the misgivings and argumentation which have been summed up here once more cannot resolve the conflict of many parents whose children are supposed to attend military instruction as of the fall of 1978 and who are wondering how in this situation they can responsibly fulfill the mission of the Gospel in the service of peace. We hope, however, that they will constitute the beginnings of an aid in orientation for all those affected by, and concerned about, this event and will be able to contribute to their responsible action.

III. The introduction of the subject of "military training" represents a concrete demand of the readiness and ability of all of us to educate our children for peace and for coping with conflicts privately and socially and in the life of peoples. Many parents and educators who are conscious of the fact that our survival depends on practicing and preserving peace will be pained by the conflict between such education for peace and the practicing of military defense readiness, with all the emotions connected with it. In the accompaniment of their children, they should direct their attention and their influence toward the new instruction remaining open to education for peace.

There will be parents who after responsible deliberation will decide against their children participating in the new courses of instruction. Such a decision should be understood as a reference to a future shaping of co-existence in peace, toward which we must direct our efforts even now. It will become effective in this spirit only if it is accompanied convincingly by consistent and practical education for peace in one's own sphere of responsibility. For all its members, the community must now be in a special way a place of dialog, encouragement and assistance in these questions besetting them. Whatever worries and occupies Christian parents, educators and children in the question of military education in schools must, in the last analysis, demonstrate for us the urgency of concrete steps for making peace in the coexistence of people, peoples and blocs more secure and more humane. In pondering such steps, we know we are in agreement with all people who have already previously put forth signs for peace and advocated trust and cooperation between peoples.

We therefore consider it to be a special task of ours to continue all efforts for effective education for peace in the communities and to support such efforts even more than in the past. Education for peace means to impart knowledge, values and convictions enabling the individual to form a balanced opinion about what today promotes peace or increases the lack of peace. We ask the co-munities to ponder particularly the following points:

--Force as a means of solving conflicts is self-destructive in a world full of arms. We must start practicing ways of settling conflicts without force.

--Security-consciousness without trust and cooperation creates distrust and new insecurity. We must start treading paths of security which make not only us but also others more secure.

--Thinking in terms of the cliches of "friend" and "enemy" renders one incapable of meeting the joint responsibility of all for the world of tomorrow. We must begin to put what is common to us above what separates us in order to be able to survive together. It is the task of all of us to put these realizations into practice. Concrete steps toward this may be the following:

--Parents should educate their children in an atmosphere of trust and forgo the use of force. They ought to instill in their children an aversion to the use of physical force.

--The imagination and inventiveness of children should be directed toward peaceful shaping of coexistence, and not toward possible warlike confrontations. Any romanticizing of military life and making the unimaginable consequences of war appear innocuous is to be resisted. This bears, for instance, on the selection of toys and reading bought or given by adults.

--Trips to our neighboring countries should be used even more, and prepared and taken advantage of afterward, for getting to know and understanding people. All-sided information about the life, history and heritage of other peoples

is important for mutual understanding. This could also include the mutual examination of schoolbooks, with the following questions being asked: What kind of image do the schoolbooks impart of the others, and what kind of image is spread in other countries about us?

--In Christian communities one should be able to learn how much more attractive peaceful solutions of conflicts are than forcible and loveless solutions. Christ's gift of peace should also sometimes be the occasion to express commemoration in the community.

Trusting in Jesus Christ, who is our peace (Eph 2, 14), we ask, in behalf of one another, for the accompanying and interceding prayer and for the strength to take the necessary small and large steps so that peace in this world may become real.

#### CDU Position Paper

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 29 Jun 78 p 14

[FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU editorial note: The CDU in the the GDR has also taken a position on the subject of military training. It has come out with a position paper, the text of which is given below.]

[Text] 1. As of 1 September 1978, the subject of military instruction will be introduced in the ninth grade of general schools (POS [polytechnical secondary schools] and preparatory grades of EOS [expanded secondary schools] but not special schools [Sonderschulen]). The theoretical portion comprises four 2-hour periods a year in addition to the past schedule, generally in the afternoon. The subjects to be covered are, in general: The meaning of socialist national defense; the nature of a possible war and requirements of soldiers and civil defense forces; military professions in the NVA [National People's Army] and the other armed organs; armament and equipment of socialist armies.

This instruction is obligatory for boys and girls. It will be given by special teachers. No provision is made for issuing grades, with no more than a notation of attendance included in the certificate of grades.

2. As of 1 September 1979, this theoretical instruction will be continued, in the same volume, in the 10th grade. The subjects are to be determined later.

3. In addition, as of 1 September 1978, a complete course in civil defense be conducted. It will comprise 2 weeks, with 5 hours a day, at the end of the schoolyear (after the end of the other instruction) and will be for both boys and girls (except where point 4 applies). It will consist of military sports, terrain and alarm exercises, behavior in case of catastrophes, first aid and the like, but no weapons training. This course will be conducted by teachers (as part of their obligatory number of hours), civil defense, DRK [German Red Cross] and other suitable personnel (for pay). A textbook (schools'

grade schedules), films and other materials are available. No grades will be issued here either. Since initially the prerequisites for these civil defense courses will not fully exist at all schools, provision has been made, in addition to an obligatory minimum program, for the young people to be employed in production during the rest of the time (without pay).

4. Parallel to these civil defense courses, 2-week premilitary camps will be conducted in the ninth grade on a voluntary basis and for boys only. These are to be established in the respective kreis area. Holiday camps (including work holiday camps!) will be employed and utilized for this. Supervision and training will be in the hands of officers, officer candidates and NCO candidates of the NVA. The camps will be governed by military rules as regards scheduling, organization, form of address and uniform, with no leave, visits, alcohol or smoking. The training will include the handling of arms--of small caliber. Primarily for logistical reasons, first about 20 percent of the boys of the ninth grade will be included in these camps in 1979, with the capacity being increased to (almost) 100 percent by 1983. At that time, therefore, as a matter of routine, girls will attend a civil defense course in school, while boys will attend the premilitary camp. There will be a special advance medical examination. Matters of insurance are dealt with by existing student insurance.

5. Provision has been made as of 1979 for an obligatory final 3-day examination during the winter vacation to demonstrate the acquired knowledge and skills. These exercises, in which no arms will be carried or used, are to end with getting together with members of the armed organs ("meeting," friendship meeting, campfire and the like).

The introduction of military instruction requires sizable logistical, cadre and organizational preparations. Now it is primarily necessary to prepare the parents of students of the eighth grade politically-ideologically for the military instruction of their children and to explain the school plans as of September 1978. In addition, information is to be provided to the members of parents' representations of all grades.

In presenting our (the CDU's) point of view, we emphasize the following above all:

1. The GDR constitution has anchored in it the protection of peace and the socialist fatherland and its achievements as the right and honorable duty of the citizens of the GDR. The introduction of military instruction as part of the education and training process is based on this right of youth stipulated in the constitution. The Education Law contains the obligation to educate the young in the process of education for strengthening and defending the socialist state.

The Youth Law makes the state and economic officials and teachers and educators responsible for preparing youth for the protection of socialism. Article 25 of the Youth Law states that "they promote military political educational

work, premilitary and civil defense training and military sports in the school." Responsibilities are laid down similarly in the Civil Defense Law.

Conditions and the need have developed for integrating military education in the regular educational process. In this, we proceed from the fact that all young boys and girls attend school until their 16th year. Through the socialist education of youth in school, at home and in the youth collective, insights and attitudes have developed, and a readiness has developed increasingly for taking a stand for the ideals of socialism, for preserving peace, for raising material and cultural prosperity and for protecting our achievements.

2. The Ninth SED Congress set the task of preparing youth even better, through effective communist education, for work and life, of qualifying the young people to cope with big complicated tasks which socialist and communist construction will confront them with. The further substantive development of our general polytechnical secondary schools is completing the conditions for this further. What is at stake in the process is the further raising of the level of education in the arts and sciences and effective educational work. This includes making the class-governed internationalist and patriotic attitude of youth even more pronounced, to educate it for loving, and being loyal to, their socialist fatherland, to develop their readiness and ability to defend the achievements of socialism. In light of the undiminished aggressiveness of imperialism, expressed above all in accelerated armament and the antidetente activities of the reactionary forces, the constant strengthening of defense readiness is and remains a decisive guarantee for enduringly insuring peace and for insuring the further formation of a developed socialist society. Protection of peace and of the socialist fatherland is the most germane interest particularly of youth, which wants to live in peace, prosperity and security. What is needed is systematically and in a planned manner to prepare and promote the defense readiness and defense ability of youth. This includes political-moral and physical preparation for military service and civil defense.

3. The concept of the introduction of military instruction of the young people in the 9th and 10th grade is based on the premise that military instruction is obligatory. Article 4 of the Education Law provides that compulsory attendance at secondary schools extends to regular attendance of instruction stipulated in the curriculum and to participating in school events declared to be obligatory by the Ministry of Public Education. Military camp training for youth, however, is to be developed on a voluntary basis. This training is developed gradually. It must be developed in a highly differentiated form with a view to arousing increasingly the interest of the boys in, and their need for, attending the instruction. This gradual procedure will result in this type of training being increasingly taken for granted by students and parents.

In regard to the political work with Christian parents, we not only point out that participation in premilitary camps (only where arms are handled) is voluntary but primarily have the following in mind:

--We Christian Democrats agreed, with complete conviction, to the socialist constitution and the Education Law, the Youth Law and the Civil Defense Law. Also in regard to the tasks of national defense and military education, the CDU shares in supporting and bearing responsibility for the policy of our socialist state. We therefore also consistently support this further development of the requirements of these laws.

--Christian will for peace accords fully with the peace policy of our state. To work for peace means primarily to increase the strength of socialism, because the stronger socialism is the more secure peace will be. As long as imperialism exists, threatens peace militarily and prepares aggressive actions against socialism, the countries of the socialist community of states must maintain their defense readiness in the necessary state.

--Socialism eliminates the social roots of war; it needs peace and creates peace. This is where love of peace and defense readiness, education for peace and military education form a whole. Socialist armies are not based on military fanaticism or ideas of conquest; their sole aim is peace, and defense, in light of the imperialist threat, is the necessary means of preserving peace. Consequently socialist armies are an indispensable part of the peace-preserving and peace-developing force of socialism.

--The political effort of the CDU therefore is directed toward dependable and effective national defense of the GDR. The CDU imparts to young Christians the certainty that as soldiers of the GDR they discharge a concrete Christian responsibility for peace; it also supports, above all, the organs of civil defense and, through socialist military education, promotes the readiness and ability of the young generation to protect the socialist fatherland and the socialist community of states.

--Over and above that, the acquisition of knowledge and skills in civil defense is an effective means for Christians of being capable, if need be, of effective aid of others, of saving human lives and of protecting social or private property.

8790

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

WEST GERMAN COMMENT: GDR CHURCH HITS SCHOOL MILITARY TRAINING

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 32 No 27, 3 Jul 78 pp 65-68

[Unattributed article: "'Our Policy Commands Confidence'--For the First Time the GDR Protestant Churches Are Publicly Protesting an East Berlin Decision']

[Text] The conflict surrounding the introduction of military instruction in schools will reveal whether SED Chief Erich Honecker's new church policy, seeking cooperation with Christians in the GDR rather than confrontation, will last. Although they could not prevent the new subject, Protestants are optimistic.

The host overwhelmed his visitors with kindness. The manner in which the Protestant Church is supporting "the preservation of peace, detente, and international understanding" is viewed by the state leadership "with nothing but satisfaction." This is how SED General Secretary Erich Honecker praised Albrecht Schoenherr, bishop of East Berlin and chairman of the GDR Union of Churches, and his companion.

"Today and in the future," the party chief continued, churches in the GDR, will have "many possibilities to participate in these deeply humanistic goals," and the communist made the following remark to the Christians as they left for home: "We are showing a great deal of understanding and we will stick to it."

Honecker gave this assurance on 6 March, during the summit meeting between state and church leaders--the first one after almost 30 GDR years. At that time almost nobody suspected that only 3 months later the SED would have the opportunity to prove how great its understanding of the churches really is. The public protest of the eight Protestant Land churches against the party plan of military instruction for all 15 and 16 year old students, beginning on 1 September, will be the first "tenability test" (According to an East Berline churchman) of Honecker's demonstratively friendly course.



Sunday before last when Schoenherr, chairman of the union, was reading the official church proclamation against the new school subject in East Berlin's Sophien Kirche, everywhere between Mecklenburg and Vogtland ministers were also reading the text to their congregations: It is to be feared that now "the education toward peace will be severely damaged, particularly in the consciousness of young people."

At the same time the church leadership informed all believers that nobody would be abandoned while resisting the militarization of school instruction: "The consciences of many are burdened with decisions that have to be made."

We would like to say to those who are under attack that we will pray for them and assist them as much as we are able to do." In addition, the Church Union gave ministers an "Orientation Aid" to enable them to assist "those under attack."

The procedure of public resistance by the highest church authority against a decision of the political leadership, is without precedent in the recent church history of the GDR, and it remains to be seen whether Honecker, in view of the Protestant challenge, will have to give up his goal to seek the cooperation of churches rather than confrontation.

He will only be able to continue the normalization process which he already began years ago to the advantage of the state and churches if he succeeds in alleviating the severe criticism of his church policy which already exists within his own ranks.

At any rate, the summit meeting of 6 March by no means marks the beginning, but the end of the first stretch on the road to relaxation of the relationship between the 8 million Protestant GDR Christians and an atheistic SED society.

Soon after Honecker replaced Walter Ulbricht at the top of the SED, it became evident that the new man's intentions were not limited to corrections in policies concerning Germany and society. The attitude toward the church also signified a cautious change.

It was Ulbricht's intention to destroy the organizational unity of the "Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland" [Protestant Church in Germany] (EKD), to decimate the number of believers through continued chicaneries, denial of educational and promotional opportunities, and to win supporters for SED policies within the spiritual camp through the assistance of his East CDU.

At the beginning he was even successful: In 1969 the GDR member churches separated from the EKD and founded a separate Church Union, the number of citizens remaining in the church declined by half, a party-obedient "Ministers' League" supplied the SED with Christian applause.

The leftover remnant of the Church, however, proved to be so resistant that even in the middle of the Ulbricht era-unparalleled in the rest of the East bloc--the party had to make a concession. After a talk between Bishop Friedrich-Wilhelm Krummacker of Greifswalde and Minister for Defense Heinz Hoffman, which had been arranged by Thuringia's Bishop Moritz Mitzenheim on account of his good personal contacts with Ulbricht, the GDR no longer imprisoned Christians who refused military service; from now on they would be fulfilling their military duties in unarmed "construction work."

A noticeable improvement in the climate for the churches, however, did not become apparent until shortly before Honecker assumed power. At that time, in February 1971, Paul Verner, Honecker's confidant in charge of Security and Church Matters in the Politburo, gave a report on basic principles, which deviated considerably from Ulbricht's guidelines. On behalf of the leadership of the state, Verner accepted for the first time the internal sovereignty of the Church Union and proclaimed that the "continued development of normal relations between state and church" would create a possibility to settle "many lingering questions."

From then on there were the first signs of a relaxation: the East CDU visibly lost significance in church politics, the pious SED "Minister's League" was dissolved, and Hans Seigewasser, state secretary for church affairs, sought more and more frequently direct contact with the Church Union.

Actual conciliation since the middle of the seventies, however, has only been experienced by the Church leadership. For the first time they were treated as halfway equal partners and considered themselves successful, and rightly so, when in 1976 the SED incorporated into its party program a reference to constitutional guarantees of religious and spiritual freedom. The draft did not contain this statement.

In addition, during the following years the party lifted the ban on the construction of churches in new housing projects and even bestowed public praise on the diaconate for its accomplishments--the care of mentally and physically handicapped, the old, and others needing care is left mostly to the church. The willingness to take over these services, which are neglected by the socialist state, is considered by GDR churches the strongest motive of the SED to allow churches more freedom and social coresponsibility.

Moreover, for some time the head of the party has been counting on the Church to help them with those young people, "our flipped-out people" (according to a GDR youth functionary), who in growing numbers are rejecting socialist discipline. Recently the church has become more attractive for many young people anyway, because there they can develop better than anywhere else and free from ideological tutelage.

On their part bishops have recognized the opportunity available to them because of party speculations on the helping hand of churches, and more and

energetically they were also demanding improvements for those Christians at the base who were still being discriminated against. Since 1976 they have been pressing for a date for talks with Honecker, which was finally arranged for 6 March of this year.

The results surpassed the expectations of churchpeople: Now the most recent kreis secretary of the SED had to read in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the party organ, that, according to Bishop Schoenherr's formulation, the relationship between state and church is only as good "as the individual Christian citizen experiences it in his own social environment and setting."

Soon astonishing things happened in local settings: Suddenly state agencies offered more technical assistance for church meetings in Leipzig, Erfurt, and Stralsund than the church could use. And for the first time in a long time they were permitted to print and post announcements of church activities.

Certainly, Erich Honecker will still have to prove whether he is serious about his publicly proclaimed "understanding" for GDR Christians--by his position in the dispute over military instruction in schools.

Church leaders are optimistic. They are certainly not expecting the party to drop the military-instruction plan. But the manner in which the state leadership has been reacting to the protest by churches is an indication to bishops that the SED chief intends to continue his new church policy.

Indications: Upon written request made to the government by churches on 5 May, State Secretary Seigewasser responded to the military-instruction topic on 1 June. A second church epistle, dated 14 June, was still unanswered as of last week; however, on 19 June, GDR President Willi Stoph received the church leaders and gave no indication whatsoever that he would rule out the church's objections to military instruction.

The Union of Churches sees another ray of hope in the fact that the GDR leadership had been informed of the impending military-instruction statement and had undertaken nothing to prevent it. On the contrary: State Secretary Seigewasser's deputy, Hermann Kalb, had also attended Schoenherr's church service, knowing very well what was awaiting him in addition to a sermon about St. Peter's fishing trip and a ceremony commemorating 100 years of East Berlin's St. Stephan's Home for the mentally retarded.

A Berlin churchman is summarizing the expectations of GDR Protestants; "We do not believe that the SED will jeopardize the attempt of a constructive church policy only because the church is also voicing criticism. Our course is confidence."

8991

CSO: 2300

POLAND

'LE SOIR' COMMENTS ON POLISH NON-CONFORMISTS, GIEREK MOSCOW VISIT

Brussels LE SOIR in French 7-8 May 78 [page number not given]

[Article by Pol Mathil]

[Text] It did not take the Warsaw authorities long to make known their reaction to the recent congress of Polish writers. It will be recalled that the highlight of the congress was an attack against censorship and against the threat it presents to Polish culture (the "Soir" of April 23). It is also known that four independent writers involved in the publication of the literary journal ZAPIS, which publishes censored works without authorization, and in the activities of the "Flying University", which also, unknown to the authorities, supplements official education by touching upon tabu subjects, are known to have been elected to the new committee of the Writers' Union. These four new members include Jacek Wozniakowski, writer and essayist, editor-in-chief of ZNAK, a catholic publishing house in Cracow. Several days after his election Wozniakowski, as well as four other intellectuals known for their nonconformist attitude, had their passport applications turned down.

Wozniakowski was not authorized to travel to Switzerland where he was to participate in a panel of judges of a cultural foundation that gives scholarships to young writers, notably Polish ones; the poet Stanislaw Baranczak, one of the promoters of the democratic movement, who has already been prevented from participating in the recent "dissidents' biennial" in Venice, has been prohibited for three years now from accepting an invitation to give a course in Polish literature at Harvard; a writer, poet and dissident, Viktor Woroszylski, has been unable to travel to West Berlin to take advantage of a six month scholarship granted by the Academy of Literature of that city; the catholic historian Andrzej Micewski is still waiting for his passport to travel to the FRG, where, at the invitation of the Archbishop of Cologne, he is to attend the debut of his book on contemporary Polish Catholicism on April 14; and finally, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a catholic essayist and journalist who is very popular in his country because of his democratic stand, was prevented from traveling to the United States at the invitation of the State Department.

## Visit to Moscow

In short, this is an operation that reflects a harder line taken by the authorities and also one that is unacceptable to Polish opinion (needless to mention the paragraph of the Helsinki agreement violated by this) and vexing to the foreign institutions that had issued the invitations and with which, incidently, the Warsaw leadership maintains very good relations.

Warsaw watchers are linking this harder line to Gierek's recent visit to Moscow. The report concerning this visit fails to mention the usual "complete sameness of views", merely mentioning "reciprocal understanding", which in the language of the East, implies divergences. The democratic circles of Warsaw see in this visit and in this wording an indirect way of putting pressure on the dissidents, whose activities are severely condemned in Moscow. This would account for the authorities' refusal to grant passports. "Nothing new", retort the Polish dissidents, "according to an old Russian saying, man consists of a body, a soul and a passport..."

9179

CSO: 3100

SPECTRUM OF CONTEMPORARY POLISH POLITICAL THOUGHT EXAMINED

Paris KULTURA in Polish No 6, Jun 78 pp 3-19

[Article by Socjusz: "How Many Roads?"]

[Text] Chance helps only those who are prepared. Pasteur

It is difficult to determine the real extent of the spectrum of Polish independent political thought in and outside of Poland. Most emigre publications are very hard to obtain or unavailable in Poland; those that reach us, though, often appall us with the fury of private interests and old-fashioned categories of thinking. Apparently, outside of Poland knowledge about what people think and do in the country is vague and classified by obsolete formulas, yet even we, who have been for years denied the freedom of expression, suspiciously sniff one another in the grey mist of ignorance shrouding our country. I venture to assert that this spectrum is both broader and narrower than it is believed to be. In reality, it is narrower in the area of consciously held and professed beliefs: the illusory impression of breadth is produced by personal disputes and traditional jealousies which induce people to exaggerate differences of opinion. On the other hand, the spectrum is broader as concerns spontaneous, unarticulated attitudes, as extreme views remain undivulged either through fear of appearing scandalous or because of an inability to realize the consequences of one's emotional stand.

Consensus prevails in one respect: everybody professes to be an admirer of the Catholic church and its political and cultural role in Poland. This is a tremendous compliment for the church hierarchy, yet it is also disturbing as a signal that various groupings will attempt to take advantage of the Church's prestige for their own purposes, seldom of a religious nature. The bidding has already begun as to who better understands the intentions of the Primate, which is a distasteful and unChristian usurpation of the reputation of Catholicism for particular, albeit "national," purposes. The example of Italy, where neither the Christian Democrats nor the Church were well served by their political proximity, should serve as a warning. Everyone is against censorship and the lack of civic liberties, but the aggressiveness and methods frequently employed in emigre discussions make us breathe with relief at the thought that these

gentlemen are so far away: just think what a song and dance they would give us, were they ensconced in the Central Committee or in the censorship office on Mysia Street.

The need to seek and reaffirm everything that is common to all of us, Polish patriots who disagree with the present lack of independence and the dictatorship of party bigwigs, appears to be totally obvious. Our opponents are so powerful, and so well equipped with instruments of violence and misinformation, that only by unification and utmost collective solidarity can we have a chance of at least a partial success in our resistance and striving to accomplish our objectives. Faced with the denial of independence and the necessity of continual work to change the status quo, differences in matters of detail should retire into the background. This does happen, for the most part, in daily domestic realities and in the activities of communities and groups engaging in self-instruction, defending human rights, and counteracting censorship, stupefaction, and Sovietization. Persons whose attention is absorbed by concrete activity are hardly persuaded by the more or less academic debates of theoreticians: shared destiny and aspirations prevent factionalism. In my opinion, it is the virtual inactivity of emigre communities, and their lack of a sense of responsibility imposed by confrontation with realities, that nourish their odd obsession for sniffing heresy and the geriatric doctrinaire fervor whose strident echoes occasionally reach the country. Indeed, it is helpful they do, because they act as a warning.

In effect, should not proponents clarify their positions, determine differences and engage in discussions on the substance of their views and proposed programs? Certainly, but this should be done not to emphasize contrasts, but in order to seek similarities; not to separate and disunite, but to bring unity and closeness. No reason can be provided why the slogans of social self-government and political pluralism should be regarded as contradictory or even competing with one another, which is reportedly done by some leaders of the KSS-KOR (Social Self Defense Committee-KOR and ROPCO (Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights), according to a report of French commentator M. Thierry, who perhaps exaggerated the conflict. Neither is the discussion with Leszek Moczulski initiated by Jacek Kuron in his "Zasady ideowe" (Ideological Principles) an example worthy of imitation.\*

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\*That text includes two valuable and thought-provoking statements: on the danger of excessive radicalization of the opposition movement under the influence of "professionals," marginal types who have nothing to lose, and on the moral responsibility of the Polish left for People's Poland. A protest must be lodged, however, with respect to the second thought: by no means the entire Polish left is responsible for that reality. One must not throw the blame for the sins of communists and their allies on Puzak or Zulawski and the thousands of Polish Socialist Party members, persecuted and frequently murdered as early as the 1940's. It is very commendable that Kuron, on behalf of the other former party members, feels responsible for the system against which he has heroically fought for years, yet he should not forget that most prewar Polish socialists and populists did not go through a period of illusion about this system.

Moczulski's distinction (in an article in OPINIA) of three ideological trends--liberal, independence-gearred and nationalist--within the Polish opposition can with some difficulty be regarded as dictated by his willingness to underscore the differences, although this interpretation is by no means strongly suggested by the text. On the contrary, the author is apparently minimizing these differences deliberately, for these trends can certainly be viewed as complementing one another. Moczulski himself is an advocate of the independence trend which "brings to the fore the functions of a national state as a form for organizing a society conscious of its goals." One can speculate that this is an expression of disciplinarian leanings, and it can be feared that the good of the state will be excessively emphasized against the good of the citizens. One might do that, but I am not sure it should be done, as these leanings are not clearly outlined, and at the present time the risk is minimal. If we take at face value Moczulski's claim that he is a pluralist democrat, i.e., that he leaves the shape of the state to the freely expressed will of its citizens, then his extremely general formula amounts to nothing more than his belief that the independence of a country is an indispensable condition for the natural existence of a society.

Some think that those dangerous authoritarian inclinations have indeed become noticeable in Moczulski's practical activity. This is perhaps true, yet Kuron initiated the discussion concerning the principle, rather than conduct, and countered Moczulski's principle with one of his own:

"For me, the overriding value is the good, the sovereignty, and the creativity of every human being." This is a very ambiguous declaration, to which an easy rejoinder could be provided to the effect that this overriding value can be attained only within the structure of a sovereign national state. Although Kuron expatiates on his concept, our doubts on how to understand those high-falutin generalities are not dispelled. "Yet, unlike the liberal tradition... I want to regard man in the totality of his aspirations and, above all, within the communities in which and thanks to which he lives: in the nation, the social group, the family." On the one hand Kuron opposes the individual's subordination to a community, on the other hand he regards man as an element of a community, which, surprisingly, appears to pose no difficulty for him.

In light of Kuron's other statements, his ideological position can be interpreted in three ways: 1) as an expression of his belief in the conflictless goodness of man, 2) as an echo of the views of the present nonradical communist left, and 3) as a manifestation of political tactics of the moment.

1) At one time in the past, Jan Strzelecki discoursed about some naive visions of a "system without temptations," equivalent to a structure of interpersonal relations from which all conflict has vanished. Historical



experience indicates that this vision is totally utopian. If Kuron is indeed convinced that it is possible to create a society whose members, one and all, will be "fulfilling the totality of their aspirations," both individual and collective, then the good-naturedness of his view of man can be seen as soul-stirring, but it must be said that such opinions are politically risky. Not because they resound with an echo of past communist utopias, but because their naivete is bound to lead to a shock of anger and disappointment. Human aspirations are so frequently contradictory, and "the good, sovereignty and creativity" of man are so variously conceived that it is necessary to establish mechanisms to control and restrict spontaneity. It is better to remember about these necessities beforehand, rather than later find out in disappointment (as did Zeromski's heroes in PRZEDWIOSNIE [EARLY SPRING]) that a police is needed in an independent country as well and that "good" human relationships are based on mutual concessions, adaptation and forbearance, rather than on "sovereignty and creativity." And, as a warning to the author of "Ideological Principles," it should be reminded that inordinate optimism in the views of the nature of man and his potential for creative development until now has resulted in bloody dictatorships in the name of "real" human goodness.

2) The telling support offered to Kuron by the Paris daily of the communist nonradical left LIBERATION and his statements quoted in it by Michel Thierry suggest that the slogans of "self-government" and "social autonomy" are derived in the leader of the Democratic Movement from his former leftist traditions and are linked with similar slogans advanced by the European "young" left. It opposes the drawbacks of the traditional systems of political representation (including parliamentary democracy) and advocates the need for authentic co-determination of the fate of a country by its working masses. Practice indicates, however, that worker self-governments pass their political and economic test only in the conditions of utmost respect for the law and an overall national sense of solidarity and shared social responsibility. The transfer from autocracy to democratic liberties (Portugal, Spain) is followed, after a brief euphoria, by an abrupt decline in labor productivity, combined with increased economic demands on the part of workers and farmers, becoming a problem of the highest importance. Let us not delude ourselves: though the political system is in a great part the source of evil in Poland, the effects of the system will not disappear when it is changed. It is only possibilities of their elimination that will be created. Independence is merely a precondition, not a guarantee for solving the difficulties. It will be, however, a long lasting and painful process, because neither professional morality nor the sense of sharing in the responsibility for the entire society can be restored without educational measures, while people who grew accustomed to receive their salaries, "work or shirk," will not be inclined to exert themselves for the cause. The example of

Yugoslavia also indicates that self-governments lacking a base in an overall parliamentary-democratic state structure rapidly become a tool in the hand of cliques and central authorities.

3) Nevertheless, it is possible that the slogans of self-government, bombastic declarations on human rights, and opposing them to the interests of communities and organizations are primarily of topical significance for Kuron: they represent a program for today, not general theoretical principles. In this case, they should be wholeheartedly applauded: sovereignty and individual freedom conceived as counteracting the imposed totalitarian authority are both politically justified and profoundly educational as slogans. Yet if Kuron is to be interpreted in this manner (most appropriate, in my opinion), the polemic with Moczulski is hardly necessary, not in the present form at least.

In general, Polish political disputes of our day unfortunately show one (or more) of three faults: lack of substance, parochialism, and obsolescence, the last being the most farcical. It centers on the use of definitions, formulas and terms of political groupings that stopped normal functioning nearly 40 years ago. Emigre activists endeavor to continue the old factions and parties: political commentators define their positions and those of others in terms of programs predating the second, and occasionally the first, world war and revile one another as Pilsudskyites, national democrats, sanacja-followers, and socialists. This is an outcome of our abnormal political life. In other European countries, including those where internal political and economic changes have been by far slighter than in Poland, parties that operated before 1939 either disappeared or dramatically altered their programs and keep using their former names simply because of their continuity of operation rather than adherence to the same principles. (This statement is least applicable to the so-called left; indeed the concept of the left had to be radically revised in Poland and in the other countries of the entire "socialist camp.")

Another aspect of anachronistic traditionalism is insensitivity to social and moral changes taking place in our society, especially the detrimental ones. Aside from a handful of such texts as the ACCOUNTING OF OUR WEAKNESSES, published by the PPN [Polish Independence Compact], there is a silent consensus to write disagreeable things about the authorities and adversaries and nothing but pleasantries about the nation. Thus, not a word comes about the calamitous disappearance of respect for the law, in fact, the total loss of ability to understand what constitutes law (as opposed to specific regulations and directives). This phenomenon must indispensably be taken into account in all considerations of the future of our country.

Parochialism is manifested--again, with only a few exceptions like Kisielewski or Rowmund Pilsudski--in our lack of a "global awareness" of

our fate's being linked with that of the rest of the world, not only with the destinies of the Eastern neighbor, and in viewing the Polish situation as if it were unique in every respect. In effect, nobody has tried to determine how the fight for state funds between various pressure groups looks in Poland, where it is transformed into a competition between ministries and coteries (in the West where the free-market monetary economy is likewise a thing of the past, so-called fiscal sociology deals with these problems).

The sources of the weaknesses of dissident thought illustrated by these examples lie in the main in the lack of a direct influence over the ways and means to administer the country. This illustrates a general rule: any kind of opposition thought becomes the less practical and responsible the farther it is removed from the mechanisms of authority. Detachment, however, has the advantage that an opposition is given an opportunity to view things in greater perspective without becoming tangled in daily skirmishes and detailed decisions. We should, therefore, try to take advantage of the possibilities of broad visions with an intellectual and moral perspective on everyday affairs, which we are offered by our remove from immediate administrative responsibilities, and, bearing the emigres in mind as a warning, we should avoid detachment from the hard and unpleasant realities caused by that very absence of responsibility.

I use the popular and handy term "opposition," but is this usage justified? Do we really have opposition in Poland? Writing under the pen name of Jan Kowal, a ROPCO activist questions this and, theoretically, he is right. Opposition is generally understood to mean open and constitutionally guaranteed insistence on changes in the mode of governing a country. The political resistance in Poland neither participates in an official process of winnowing the people's representatives nor even has a chance to engage in an orderly dialog with the authorities. The system prevailing in Poland disallows the existence of such an opposition by its very principle of "democratic centralism:" all and every alternative must therefore be proposed outside the system. Kowal insists that an opposition *sensu stricto* should likewise possess a "coherent program of reforms on the basis of which it would be prepared to take over the rule 'as of now.'" He also believes that Western parliamentary oppositions can afford less detailed programs of action while an opposition in Poland would have to define its position very precisely. I see two misconceptions here. One is purely factual: indeed, it is an opposition operating under the orderly conditions of parliamentary pluralism that must prepare very detailed programs for, say, treating sewage in Dorchester or Avalon, because their voters are sufficiently mobilized only by such detailed treatment. Second, working out detailed programs is pointless in our situation, insofar as the resistance movement disposes of no means to take over power and can

conduct none but educational activities, pressing for and preparing further changes and creating future opportunities. Of importance is the direction of these changes rather than their particular elements, and political influence should be accumulated both by addressing specific shortcomings and protesting against violations, as well as by bringing to view the ultimate objectives which we want to achieve. On the other hand, such detailed demands as those contained in many sections of program "44" are bound to sound ridiculous, considering that their authors cannot describe a situation in which the planned reforms would have a chance to be implemented.

Those who wanted to free Poland from foreign domination and carry out radical political reforms were referred to simply as patriots in the late 18th and throughout the 19th century. Even in this day and age this name is perhaps the most appropriate, but it has been worn out: applied to the opponents of the system prevailing in the People's Poland it would sound vague and bombastic. The setting in which we operate is so untypical that all traditional appellations are in some measure divorced from the realities. Thus it is perhaps better to accept the entirely conventional term "opposition" with full awareness that it covers only a portion of the complete semantic range of this concept. And it is better perhaps to stop being concerned with names but rather to proceed to accomplish the tasks facing all of us who desire to transform their sense of dissatisfaction with the status quo into work toward changing it.

In the lead of those tasks is continued critical scrutiny of our situation and its progress, undertaken from the point of view of clearly defined objectives which we want to accomplish.

At the outset a paradox is encountered: while the condition of the official ruling side--the state and party authorities, administration, the national economy, and so on--is not, despite the shortage of accurate information, a secret and can be fairly unambiguously described and assessed, the condition of the society ruled by these authorities is obscure for us, with a variety of views being offered on moods and attitudes and, in particular, readiness for solidary actions. Hence some commentators are inclined to consider society as united in its, at least passive, resistance, while others, e.g., Marek Turbacz, claim that the nation has yielded to depression and discouragement.

Either of these diagnoses is a simplification. The political apathy of a sizeable portion of the technical intelligentsia and physicians, resulting from their unwillingness to put their fairly privileged economic status at risk, is not at all the same as the distrustful, anti-regime inertia of the peasants or most workers. The intelligentsia, for over a century politically the most active segment of the nation, has been somewhat

prematurely written off as a loss (e.g., by Aleksander Gella and Jan Drewnowski). The dedicated dissident groups of recent years have come from intelligentsia communities and are linked with their traditions. On the other hand, the intelligentsia is not only the most passive group nationwide, but also the one least willing to take part in an active (even if only intellectual) resistance and most frequently collaborating with the regime. Thus, because of a variety of reasons, this group has been fragmented ideologically.

Yet it is not true that those supposed intelligentsia "troublemakers," as the official propaganda labels them, on their own incite ferment a sense of social dissatisfaction. They are expressing--actively and visibly--widespread moods and aspirations. The active opposition is searching for a way out from the paradox that has subdued Poles: society believes that the system cannot be "rectified" and is inclined to give its support only to a total change, but at the same time it does not believe in the immediate possibility of a fundamental change of this kind, lapsing in effect into cynical or despairing inaction.

A factor of some influence on this passivity is the suspicion that the authorities voluntarily tolerate the existence of the opposition for purposes of their own. Jan Kowal put it in emphatic terms. "The existence of several social resistance groups unrecognized by the authorities in People's Poland is an effect of a deliberate strategy of permissiveness.... To believe that the authorities yield because they are forced to do so would be a false conclusion." The contrast between "yielding" and "permitting" is somewhat artificial in this case: if the authorities permit something they would rather not tolerate, then a permission of this sort is in essence involuntary. To what extent the concessions are enforced by foreign relations (the need for credits), and to what extent they are due to domestic tensions (fear of irking public opinion and creating martyrs), are both subject of discussion and extremely difficult to determine, considering that foreign credits are also needed to keep up some sort of peace within the country. While siding with Kowal's warnings that "enforcement" makes it possible to escalate demands, but "permissiveness" can disappear overnight, and any provocation would suffice to cause a wave of repressions, one should neither attribute to the authorities a total freedom of choice in the methods of action, nor relinquish influencing the course of events by taking advantage of the regime's difficulties to expand the margin of its necessary tolerance, which is dictated by the desire to avoid internal and external confrontation. Whether such concessions are seen as enforced or obtained thanks to favorable circumstances, they cannot be obtained without applying pressure, and this is the heart of the matter.

The problem whether, and in what manner, action should be taken if the system is seen as incorrigible and whether, and in what manner the system

should be induced to change if it cannot be reformed (as any reform would result in its abolishment) offers no solutions if it is defined uncompromisingly and rigidly. It should receive a different formulation. The revisionist dream of repairing the system from within, of purifying it and letting it develop a "human face," is not the same thing as nudging the system towards changes and concessions to which it must in some manner become adapted. There is no longer any belief in the first possibility, and nobody counts on the system's coming to health "by itself." Let it be the worry of party theoreticians how to define the processes of the second type. The system's standard features are not supposed to include private agriculture, tolerance of the role of the Church, the institution of a domestic currency market, the development of large-scale investment projects supported by Western capital, liberty to go abroad, or the support of private craftsmen and small trade on a commission basis. Although these do not alter the foundations of the system, they render it more susceptible to further evolution--aside from the fact that they profoundly affect the citizens' way of life. It cannot be assumed beforehand what limits there are to the regime's adaptability to pressures (both from the inside and outside) and they should not be abandoned prematurely because of theoretical reasons. It is true that "liberty is indivisible" and that sovereignty is by no means restricted by sovereignty, yet these statements pertain to ideals, values, and ultimate goals. The "everything or nothing" attitude taken not only with regard to imponderables, but also toward concrete activity, results in inaction, uselessness, and waiting with folded arms for the moment when someone liberates us at once from the Soviet Union and from the home-grown party (and it will turn out then that we are unable to cope with this new situation).

During more than a century when Poland did not exist as a state the basic question, raised directly after the last partition, was: 'Can Poles win back their freedom?' The 1918-1920 proved the correctness of this question, as the existence of a military cadre was of paramount importance in recovering and maintaining independence at that time.

In 1944-1945 an unwanted political system and constraining foreign domination were imposed on us by force. It became evident then that the old question was meaningless in the new realities, and that in any event Poles would be unable to recover their self-determination with their own forces alone. Our political thinking about the nation's future has been siezed since that time by gloom and fruitless confusion.

The political "realists" of the post-partition era recommended various forms of "work at the foundations" and compromise with the partitioning powers, while opposing the "romantics" for whom freedom was to be the fruit of yet another national uprising. The possibility of regaining national independence was for both sides the subject of concrete discussions and careful calculation of capabilities and favorable developments,

for this vision was part of the national consciousness. Even when referred to as a "fantasy," it was a fantasy realistically staked out with paths leading to it.

In the wake of WW II, ghastly and bewildering ideas about a third world war continued to plague the world for several years. The outbreak of another global conflict imperiling civilization and giving Poland at the same time an avenue to liberation from foreign domination proved to be too formidable to a turn of events to be considered part of any sensible plan. Since that time we have been vacillating between temporary measures and generalities. Statements about independence are usually purely declarative and unconnected with any definite concept or historical projection. Those groups operating openly in Poland are forced to resort to veiled allusions, and only the PPN pointed out in general terms that in the Soviet Union and its satellites (or dominions) processes are mounting which can lead in the future to collapse of the empire. On the other hand, Stefan Kisielewski warns that an international triumph of Moscow and communism should be taken into consideration in view of the advancing degeneration of the West. The statements of representatives of emigre groups offer loads of unspecific wishful thinking, including both independence and democracy. Some "nationalists" warn, however, that efforts to pressure Russia are bound to end in a disaster, adding that opposition in Poland is equivalent to actions for the sake of American or Zionist interests, and stuff of a similar nature. Although these gentlemen also proclaim themselves in favor of sovereignty and similar goals, they carefully cut off all roads leading to it, except perhaps an act of divine justice. A similar effect is produced by the fantical anticommunism of Jozef Mackiewicz, who condemns all methods of action except total confrontation, though it is not known who is supposed to carry it out (and survive).

The present author does not propose to engage in clairvoyance, but suggests that substantive short and long term hypotheses are worth attempting. While fully realizing the limits of our influence on the course of events, we need not treat them fatalistically.

What guidelines should be followed in discussing the prospects and socio-political possibilities of our country? Some have been forcefully driven home to us: domination of the Soviet Union, lack of a frontier with the West, "the German danger," the interests of the party and state apparatus, which are unwilling voluntarily to give up a fraction of its power, the naive cynicism of Western democracies and their distaste for "adventures." Yet we do not have to treat these data as unchanging. They should constantly be subjected to new analyses and scrutinized in light of other factors no less important although less evident.

First of all we must remember that although the particular geopolitical location imposes on us a fixed and permanent view of the world, the

contemporary political and economic realities are extremely fluid. The changes that have occurred over the last 30 years in the international balance of power are massive and by no means finalized. The multiplication of centers of political decision-making pertaining directly to only a single country, yet affecting entire continents, has no precedent in world history. The developments in Vietnam, Portugal, Angola, or Somalia, in fringe zones of influence of the great powers powerfully affect the world situation and, although in each case what the superpowers do is most important, they find with increasing frequency that they cannot decisively influence the course of local developments (the Russians expelled from Egypt, Americans losing ground in Turkey, and so on).

The increasing complexity of the world is also accompanied by continued growth in the number of regional tensions resulting from political and economic motives (mounting confrontation between the rich and poor countries). It is generally known that, although the Soviet Union is a rich and highly industrialized country, it does not want to help the developing countries, but uses every opportunity to incite them against the West. Thus, it consciously operates as a destabilizing factor. Until now this activity brought the Soviet Union some fairly positive results, yet this tactic, of necessity, places the Soviet Union against all the developed and more affluent countries, who can only suffer from the refuelling of conflicts.

It is significant that the rich Arab countries, except crazy Libya, keep closer to the Western countries than to the Soviet Union, their conflict with Israel notwithstanding. The same is true with regard to all other countries where the economic level is rising rapidly. Regardless of whether they simply want to enjoy their affluence alone or to share it with others, they are afraid of destabilization. As a result of this general principle, which cannot be analyzed here in more detail, the Soviet Union's political isolation will probably continue to increase in the future. (China is taking care of this too.) To reverse this process the Soviet Union would be forced either to abandon political competition with Western democracies or change its methods in foreign policy and send abroad not weapons and Cubans, but wheat, tractors, and money--which the Soviet Union cannot afford and not only for economic reasons.

U.S. sociologist Daniel Bell writes about the modern "revolution of expanding rights," which is advancing to include the entire world. Increasing circles of population acquire opportunities for education and economic advancement. Formerly underprivileged groups are becoming the subject of special compensatory measures; labor unions play an expanding socioeconomic role; individual liberties have risen dramatically as did women's rights, tolerance of unorthodox lifestyles, and outlays on social services and public purposes. A parallel revolution in the



area of international relations is seen in many formerly dependent countries, which are achieving sovereignty and successfully claiming broader economic and political rights. Although in many postcolonial countries the rights of individuals are severely restricted by autocratic regimes, we are witnessing a takeover of decision-making in those countries by people who were deprived of participation in government until recently. The general world tendency toward expansion of rights is thus curbed, but not reversed, in those countries.

Of course, the same tendency manifests itself in the Soviet Union and other Moscow-bloc countries, but while in the West it is supported, or at least tolerated, in the Soviet Union it is suppressed and eradicated by force. For this reason as well, the Soviet Union will probably encounter increasing social and psychological difficulties in its relations with the West. Soviet soldiers can successfully be kept under lock in barracks in Poland to prevent their softening and succumbing to demoralizing (i.e., enlightening) influences. An attempt to effectively penetrate third-world countries, however, would entail the necessity to expose thousands of Soviet citizens to life in countries with considerably greater political freedom than their own. It is only under the conditions of total lack of information that people tend not to ask whether the irritating features of their own system are really inevitable. An opportunity to compare does not have to result in condemnation or renunciation of one's own system, even if it is considered defective, so long as that system manages to justify its usefulness in some way. Considering, however, that the system, social relations, and the flow of available information in the Soviet Union are becoming increasingly obsolete in comparison with the rest of the world, it will be increasingly difficult to provide such justifications. The fact that Soviet foreign policy is extremely costly for the Soviet Union and brings no tangible benefits to its citizens (not even in the form of opportunities to travel abroad) cannot be eternally concealed before the population whose main problem is still how to satisfy basic needs. It will become necessary to resort, with increasing frequency, to nationalist and imperial slogans which are persuasive to many Russians but must inevitably deepen their isolation within their own country and abroad.

The Soviet ruling circles continually obscure the long-term prospects of their country, that is, they gradually limit the slender chances of overcoming fundamental structural problems resulting from the fact that the Soviet Union is the last colonial power in our century, having an absurd system of economic management, backward and unproductive agriculture, handicapped science, and spasmodically developing technology plagued by retardation. Also, from the very beginning of its existence, it has been compelled to export raw materials to pay for imports of

modern equipment. Fundamental administrative and economic reforms are needed to get rid of the economic difficulties. These reforms would cause more pronounced centrifugal tendencies whose development would probably lead to a bloody civil war or fragmentation of the empire. Yet, the longer the reforms are not implemented, the more dangerous the internal social and national tensions, and the more flagrant the differences between the Soviet Union and other countries on a similar level of civilization. It should also be noted that, as the level of economic and technological development of a country rises, its links with the world economy become increasingly numerous and close, no matter how self-sufficient it may appear economically. The world economy is increasingly subjected to directives of demand and expectations, rather than supply, as in the past. A mere 30 years ago Soviet planners could plan production according to what they had available and what they wanted to obtain in keeping with their objectives. Today they are gradually forced to plan bearing in mind what the population expects to receive from them, and the expectations of Soviet citizens will be affected, some delays notwithstanding, by what Americans, Finns, Brazilians, and Japanese wanted and received. Most probably, the risk of an outbreak of an armed conflict caused by aggressive Soviet expansion, whether limited or on a world scale, will diminish, but, on the other hand, there will be a mounting risk of a war resulting precisely from the increasing anachronisms of the Soviet Union and from its incompatibility with the modern world, possibly inducing panic reactions in the party leadership.

The processes outlined here obviously apply to all of Eastern Europe as well, susceptible to the influences and pressures of international mores and economic and political trends to a considerably greater degree than the Soviet Union. Presumably therefore the tendency among Soviet satellite countries to acquire the characteristics of political entities and expand their spheres of decisions beyond full Soviet control will come to the fore with increasing frequency in the future. Two additional conditions are needed: relative internal stability in a given country (Fractional infighting weakens the bargaining power of each politbureau) and relative clarity in the personal power structure in the Kremlin (The present state of expectation for Brezhnev's departure and struggle for his succession restrains other parties from more enterprising actions and claims).

Let us direct our view to the other side. The fact that Poland's international economic and political situation has considerably improved in the last 25 years has not penetrated the Polish consciousness as of yet. At this time, this improvement is only potential but it is dramatic. Thanks to our coal, we are the only country in Europe, besides Norway, that is able to export energy now and will be able to do so for a long time to come. Since energy resources are of key importance to the economy of any country and for its role in the world economy, we (potentially) are holding a trump card. It is best suited for playing the

game with the EEC, of which we can become an increasingly valuable partner. The emergence of the European Economic Community is another factor significantly improving our situation. As part of a united Europe, Germany is bound to lose opportunities for an aggressive foreign policy (assuming it would desire to resume such policy), while the disappearance of bitter competition among Western countries can facilitate our finding allies among them. More important, when the European Community is expanded to include Spain, Portugal, and Greece, Poland will represent a potentially valuable addition to it, both in economic (decreasing the energy deficit) and political terms (reinforcing medium-sized countries in their dialog with Germany, France and England). I am not forgetting the profound crisis of EEC at this time. Yet one is entitled to think that an awareness of the economic disaster potentially resulting from the Community's collapse will enable it to overcome the crisis, and the process of political integration, however slow, will not be halted. Closer ties between Poland and the Community would certainly open up new possibilities for uniting Germany (within the EEC framework). They would also be favorably regarded by the United States with whom Poland has no conflicting political interests but rather ties of traditional friendship.

All this sounds as a fairy tale. I am not telling fortunes, however, but simply asserting that a similar turn of events is possible and should be taken into account. Neither do I suggest that Western European countries are willing to make sacrifices or take any risks for our sake but I believe that Poland's close linking with or even joining the EEC are in the interest of all parties concerned--except the Soviet Union. And I also maintain that opposing these shared interests can prove to be either unprofitable or downright unfeasible over a very long term. (It is worth noting that our censorship is viciously suppressing information favorable to the EEC which is allowed to be referred to only as the Common Market).

Another factor which must be reckoned with is that the United States have to be guided in their conflict with the Soviet Union by calculations where allies can be found and where the enemy's front can be weakened at lowest costs and risk (the times when costs did not matter are gone for good). Such a theater is provided by Europe, including, of course, Central and Eastern Europe. Some emigre commentators, e.g., Jędrzej Giertych, notice this fact too and clamor for abandoning all oppositionary activity in Poland because, they allege, it is artificially fueled by Americans (and Jews, who else) for their own purposes. Aside from the minor fact, probably unnoticed by the venerable National Democrat, that Poles indeed do have their own reasons to be in conflict with Soviet and domestic party domination, as well as the fact that U.S. authorities have so far displayed a minimum of understanding for Polish oppositionary activity and tended to discourage rather than encourage it, it should be said that Polish interests are at this stage largely compatible with American interests and we should take advantage of this compatibility.

Without letting ourselves be provoked to acts of thoughtless mutineering (which, save the security police at times, nobody incites us to engage in), we should simply strive to raise the cost of maintaining Poland in the position of a Soviet satellite. If the superpowers are interested in us, we should try to have them outbid one another. One of them keeps us under its heel while our slipping from that position is in the interest of the other; without causing an outbreak we should, therefore, wiggle under the heel.

On the other hand, one could wonder whether Germany perhaps constitutes a greater threat than Russia. All those who try to scare us, whether honestly or not, with Teutonic retaliation claim in their support historical experience, rather than the present situation or projections for the future. This is not a justifiable approach. We should neither fail to note nor underestimate revisionist tendencies still alive in the FRG, but a closer examination of history inevitably leads to the conclusion that--although there were periods when Germany put us in mortal danger, in the long run from the 19th century on, Russia was the major threat, for the simple reason that in conflict with Russia it was either difficult or downright impossible for Poland to find allies. We found out about this through our bitter experience in 1920 and 1945. Experience to date also indicates ampler opportunities for evolution and positive changes in Polish-German, rather than Polish-Soviet, relations.

Thinking of the future we should not forget the obvious fact mentioned by Juliusz Mieroszewski, that not the Russians, but the Ukrainian, Belorussian and Lithuanian nations, are our Eastern neighbors. Comments to this effect and expressions of approval for cultural and political aspirations of these nations, now Russianized and deprived of their autonomy, induce hysterical fears in some Polish emigres, former members of the Polish national party, who protest that federalist concepts are being rejuvenated again and schemes are in the making to liberate the nations of the Soviet Union with Polish blood. This is triply absurd. First, all aspirations for autonomy among Soviet-dominated nations can only make it easier for Poles to expand the sphere of national and state freedom; second, pretending not to notice these aspirations or directly opposing them not only deprives one of potential allies but also of a moral right to advance one's own claims; third, in the present situation we can only benefit from internal problems posed to the Kremlin by our neighbors' resistance against Russianization, as we cannot help them in any way ourselves.

Several years ago Jan Drewnowski published in KULTURA a valuable article about possibilities for system changes in Poland, entitled "The Only Way," Although he characterized this unique route (through pressures from society caused by internal contradictions within the system) in very general terms which permits modifications of action, the very slogan of a "one and only" road seems, in my opinion, to be detrimental.

Various opportunities may arise to permit dramatic changes and liberation, so preparations for such changes must be equally diversified. The correct decision to abandon the concept of an armed uprising or a mass conspiracy preparing a coup should not lead to relinquishment of many other methods of action, both open and covert. The multiplicity of these methods increases our chances--provided that their advocates do not fight one another.

The same is true with regard to proponents of differing visions of future prospects and strategies. They should focus their attention on the common final goal, rather than on particular differences. Let all supporters of an independent Poland think about the common enemy who has deprived us of freedom and let them not waste their time and effort in reciprocal backbiting. Let all advocates of democracy consider it their foremost duty to fight for the attainment of democracy, rather than criticizing those who do not share their views about an ideal model for the political system.

There are many roads. There are different methods to prepare foundations for a better future: political self-instruction and the study of self-government, establishing mutual understanding between social groups and communities, enlightening foreign public opinion and paving the way for international (rather than merely inter-governmental) understanding and rapprochement in various directions, educating persons who will be capable of taking over managerial positions and becoming leaders, advantageously utilizing existing possibilities to further the development of authentic culture and sciences, restoring and reasserting the sense of national dignity. Attempts can be made to claim due respect for existing laws and civic rights--or to fight for improved ones. In various sectors protection can be provided to what we have achieved and salvaged--or endeavors can be made to expand the scope of liberties and entitlements. An uncompromising attitude can be maintained--or unadvertised, veiled support can be offered to liberal and patriotic tendencies within the ruling apparatus. Emphasis can be laid on immediate achievements and short-term gains--or visions of ultimate ideals can be inculcated.

Most essential, we should be aware that believing in an independent and democratic Poland does not have to be equivalent to faith in miracles and that we should not obstruct each other's progress to this goal by different roads.

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YUGOSLAVIA

NEW DECREE ISSUED ON WARTIME REQUISITIONING

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 24, 5 May 78 pp 969-970

[Decree issued by the Federal Executive Council on 27 April 1978, Economic Regulation No 308, and signed by Vice Chairman Dr Anton Vratusa]

[Text] On the basis of Article 68 of the Law on National Defense (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1974), the Federal Executive Council issues the following

DECREE

On Procedure for Requisitioning To Meet the Needs of the Armed Forces in  
Wartime

1. Requisition Procedure

Article 1

The requisitioning of personal property owned by citizens or civil legal persons serving military needs directly and immediately may be ordered and carried out as an exception to meet the needs of the armed forces of Yugoslavia in wartime.

Article 2

The command to make a requisition shall be issued in writing and shall contain the following information: the name of the military unit for whose needs the requisition is being made, the types of things which the requisition covers, their amount, the time by which the requisition must be made, the place where the property is to be surrendered, and also other necessary data so that the requisition might be made effectively.

In urgent cases the command to make a requisition may also be issued orally.

Article 3

The competent opstina agency shall carry out the requisition through a three-member commission established for that purpose (hereafter referred to as the "requisition commission").

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, on grounds of urgency or other important reasons of a military nature, the competent opstina agency may carry out a requisition through a person whom it specifically authorizes.

#### Article 4

On the basis of the command to make a requisition the competent opstina agency, on the recommendation of the requisition commission, shall assess households for the necessary types and amounts of articles, taking into account the economic condition and basic needs of each household as well as prior contributions which the household has made to meet the needs of national defense.

#### Article 5

The requisition shall be carried out in the presence of the owner of the property or adult member of his household.

If the urgency of the situation so requires, property may also be requisitioned when its owner is absent and may also involve property being stored or used by third persons and abandoned property.

#### Article 6

The requisition commission or person authorized to carry out a requisition shall issue a requisition certificate to the owner of the property requisitioned or to an adult member of his household or to the person with whom the property was in safekeeping or in use at the moment of the requisition.

The certificate of requisition shall contain the following: the type and amount of articles requisitioned, their individual and total cash value, the amount of compensation paid--if partial or full compensation was made at the time of requisition, the name of the agency or officer making the requisition, and the date of the requisition.

If compensation was not paid at the time of requisition or only a portion of the compensation was paid, the certificate must indicate to whom and at what time the owner of the requisitioned property should apply for payment of the compensation or the unpaid portion of the compensation.

#### Article 7

The requisition commission or authorized individual shall submit a written report on a requisition which has been made to the competent opstina agency.

The report on requisition shall contain the following data: a list of the owners of the articles requisitioned, the type, amount and value of the articles requisitioned, amounts of compensation paid and unpaid, and the time when the requisition was made.

#### Article 8

The competent opstina agency shall keep separate records of reports on requisitions and of certificates concerning unpaid compensation for requisitioned property.

#### Article 9

The competent opstina agency is required to collect the property requisitioned at the place designated and to turn it over to the military unit at the place indicated in the command to make a requisition.

If the urgency of the situation so requires, the competent opstina agency may order the owners to surrender the property requisitioned directly to the military unit at the place designated, or it may take vehicles of individuals, organizations of associated labor or other organizations, special-interest and other self-managed communities and government agencies in order to carry the requisitioned property to the place designated in the command to make a requisition.

#### Article 10

Upon receipt of the property from the competent opstina agency the commanding officer of the military unit for whose needs the property was requisitioned shall issue a receipt for the property received, containing an inventory of the articles received, by types, amount and value.

#### Article 11

In conformity with Article 67, Paragraph 3, of the Law on National Defense military officers authorized to order a requisition may order and carry out a requisition themselves as follows:

- 1) if at the place where the requisition needs to be made there is no competent opstina agency or if that agency is unable to make the requisition;
- 2) in a zone of combat action where freedom of movement is restricted or from which the population has been evacuated;
- 3) if performance of the combat mission of the unit or fulfillment of some other urgent military need requires that the articles be requisitioned speedily.

#### Article 12

In the cases referred to in Article 11 of this decree the military officer shall conduct the requisition through a three-member commission established for that purpose or through a person whom he specifically authorizes.



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Article 13

In the making of a requisition under the provisions of Articles 11 and 12 of this decree the provisions of Articles 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9 of this decree shall be appropriately applied.

A military officer who has ordered that a requisition be made under Article 11 of this decree must submit a report on the requisition to the competent opstina agency as soon as conditions permit.

2. Compensation for Requisitioned Property

Article 14

Compensation for requisitioned property shall ordinarily be paid in cash at the moment the requisition is made.

The compensation referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be paid from the funds of the Yugoslav People's Army if the requisition was made to meet the needs of units and institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army or from the funds of a sociopolitical community for whose territorial defense units and institutions the requisition was made.

Article 15

The agency or authorized individual making a requisition shall fix the amount of compensation for the requisitioned property according to the prescribed or market price of such articles on the local market at the time when the requisition is made, or it shall be fixed by a commission if the amount of compensation cannot be determined according to the prescribed or market price on the local market.

If compensation is not paid at the time when the article is requisitioned, the amount of compensation shall be fixed in the manner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article at the moment when the compensation is paid.

3. Final Provisions

Article 16

The Decree on Wartime Requisition Procedure (SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ, No 56, 1969) shall cease to be valid on the day when this decree takes effect.

Article 17

This decree shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ.

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